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REINHARD KAN

THE WAY OF THE SWORD

THE TENGU-GEIJUTSU-RON OF CHOZAN SHISSAI

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REINHARD KAMMER

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THE TENGU-GEIJUTSU-RON OF CHOZAN SHISSAI

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To my Mother

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Translator's Preface

Reinhard Kammer's *Die Kunst der Bergdämonen*[1] presents a unique challenge to the translator. Kammer has translated into German an original Japanese work entitled *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* by Chozan Shissai, first printed in the year 1729. The translation comprises the second section of his book. The first section, approximately one-third of the entire book, consists of Kammer's historical and philosophical background material to the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, together with his own critique and interpretation of the work. The two sections are tightly interwoven and neither is meant to be dealt with in isolation. At the same time, however, each of the two sections is stylistically and contextually distinct from the other.

From the translator's viewpoint, the most important aspect of Kammer's book is that it contains a translation of a Japanese work which thus requires re-translation into English. It is my belief that re-translations are generally undesirable if the preservation of the style and feeling of the original text is the primary concern of the translator. It is impossible for a translator to maintain that his translation of an original work is a faithful rendition of that original if it is based on another translation. The first translation will unavoidably bear to some degree the mark of the first translator and his emotional, intellectual and cultural environment on the one hand, and the characteristics of the first target language and its ability or inability to render the original work on the other. In terms of the latter point, it is well known that languages have their own unique characteristics and lend themselves more easily to some particular styles and terminologies than to others. This might

even serve as the basis for an argument in favour of re-translations, since it may be that an author's style, cumbersome in his native language, might be rendered much more naturally in another language. The same might apply to terminology, as well, where the vocabulary of a second language proves more expressive of the subject area than the text's original language.

The potentials here are particularly intriguing for lyrical and philosophical texts, the former because of certain expressive characteristics such as onomatopoeia or rhythm and the latter for conceptual clarity. Artistic expression, therefore, may be well served by the use of a second language. For scholarly accuracy, however, there seems to be little justification for re-translations unless the original work has been destroyed and can be perpetuated only from existing translations.

In Kammer's work the problem presents itself somewhat differently, however. In the first place, Kammer's work must be considered and therefore translated as an entity. It would be wrong to extract his translation of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* and substitute for it another translation from the original Japanese. Such an action would challenge Kammer's endeavours as an author and a translator and disturb the integrity and continuity of his book. Second, I do not know the Japanese language. Were I then to include an original translation of Shissai's treatise into English, it would of necessity be the work of yet another translator for whose accuracy I could not assume full responsibility. As Kammer's translator, this would present me with an untenable situation. Thus, I have proceeded with the re-translation of the German into English relying heavily on Kammer's interpretation and rendering of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron.*

At the same time, this approach has not absolved me from the translator's obligation to provide his readers with accurate information to the best of his ability. In those instances where the author, whether in an original or translated text, has committed errors, his translator is bound to alert his readers to the error and provide accurate information. Such instances occurred in the following translation. In matters related to the Japanese translation and Japanese history, culture and philosophy, I consulted regularly with Professor Jun Mink, head of the Japanese Studies Program at the Monterey Institute

of Foreign Studies in Monterey, California, and a specialist in the Japanese language and literature. She pointed out transcription and possible translation errors committed by Kammer and verified them by reference to standard Japanese reference materials, a partial listing of which is attached to this preface. We considered each of the cases, and those which would have seriously impaired the reader's appreciation or understanding of the text were changed and a translator's footnote appended to explain the nature of and reason for the change.

In some instances, reference to the original Japanese text would have alleviated some doubts regarding the German translation and Kammer's interpretation of the Japanese. Despite extensive efforts, however, I was unable to obtain a copy of the original Japanese text, and I had to rely on my own research and the guidance and instruction provided by Professor Mink to decide how most accurately to render these problematic passages.

In addition to the types of difficulties outlined above, there arose certain terminology questions which revolved around philosophical and conceptual considerations. Here is an instance in which the German language lent itself more easily to the Japanese concept than English. One of the major concepts of the work is *ki*. Kammer explains the concept and his translation choice, *das Fluidum*, beginning on page 20 below. As it happens, *Fluidum* is an excellent equivalent but does not have a corresponding lexical equivalent in English. Some background explanation of the concept will point out the complexities involved.

Daisetz T. Suzuki[2] explains that: '*Ch'i* (Chin., Jap. *ki*) is a difficult term to translate into English. It is something imperceptible, impalpable, that pervades the entire universe. In one sense, it corresponds to spirit (*pneuma*), it is the breath of heaven and earth.' Kammer describes *ki* as

> a kind of fine substance which must circulate through and fill the entire body. It can vary in its consistency, and in accordance with this has different effects upon the physical and spiritual existence of man. When it is strong and buoyant, uncongested and fluid, if it is properly distributed throughout the body and does not concentrate in the wrong places, then it

> guarantees . . . that the functions of the body and the acts of the person can occur in harmony with the Principle (p. 21).

Further, the *Wildhagen German-English Dictionary*[3] defines *Fluidum* as follows: '1. fluid//(phys) elektrisches (etc.) ~ electrical fluid 2. (fig). aura (L) (of a person; of malevolence); atmosphere, aura (of a room)// geistiges ~ fluidic atmosphere.' It is evident that the range of the German word combines certain physical and non-physical aspects which correspond well to the Japanese range and makes it an accurate semantic equivalent.

It is also evident that there is no lexical equivalent in English for either of the two words which would encompass the same semantic range. My solution to the problem was the compound 'Life Force'. The particle 'force' denotes physical energy which possesses the above-described liquid-like properties of *ki* and *Fluidum* in respect to its ability to amass and subsequently disperse through a physical space. The particle 'life' connotes the vitality, the life-giving and -sustaining characteristics which Suzuki discusses in the above quote. I believe that the compound accurately conveys this elusive concept and establishes the proper conceptual context for the reader's accurate comprehension of the text.

The last point is the matter of style. The two sections of the book are written in two very different styles. Kammer's style in the introduction is dry, syntactically complex and at times obscure. I did not attempt to change Kammer's style, i.e. to enliven it or in any way alter its tone or intent. I do not believe this to be the prerogative of the translator. My intention was to preserve Kammer's style as accurately as possible within the framework of syntactically accurate English. There were only a few instances where I deliberately changed the style. An example was a case in which the original idiomatic expression was of decidedly substandard style and did not transfer well into English. This instance occurs on page 11 below. In the original Kammer wrote of 'das so mit dem Bade ausgeschüttete Kind . . .' (p. 23). English has a corresponding idiom: 'throw out the baby with the bath water'. When discussing the history of Japanese swordsmanship in a tone as serious as that Kammer has established in this work, however, the idiom is seriously out of

range, and I felt obliged to rewrite it simply as 'this extreme action'.

The style of the second section contrasts sharply with that of the first. Here the style flows smoothly; it is clear, concise and direct yet powerful. The style here maintains a balance that makes it slightly archaic yet timeless, eloquent but not pompous, and instructive but not pedantic. To render this style adequately, I found it helpful to read related Japanese works in English translation; a listing of the most important of these is appended to this preface.

In conclusion, I wish to express my appreciation to the following people for their dedication of time, expertise, and guidance in the preparation of this translation: Professor Thomas E. Schultze of the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies for expending great amounts of time, energy, encouragement and linguistic guidance; Professor Jun Mink whose professional dedication and insatiable curiosity added not only to the quality of this translation but to my education as well; and to Professor Elizabeth Trahan, also of the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies, for offering invaluable advice and professional guidance.

Notes

1 Reinhard Kammer, *Die Kunst der Bergdämonen*, Wilheim/Obb., 1969.
2 Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Princeton, 1973.
3 Dr Will Heraucourt and Dr Karl Wildhagen, *The New Wildhagen German Dictionary*, Chicago, 1965.

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Author's Preface

Before long, the Japanese art of fencing, *kendō* or the Way of the Sword, will have gained a prominent position in the Western consciousness alongside *judō*, which has long been familiar to Europeans. *Kendō* associations already exist in England and America and, in view of the growing interest in Far Eastern culture, are expected to continue to flourish. Yet, in addition to its athletic tradition, *kendō* has a far older and richer artistic and philosophical tradition. The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, a treatise on swordsmanship from the early eighteenth century, provides an insight into the spiritual background of this art without delving too deeply into its technical details. It seems particularly appropriate, therefore, to point out some typical characteristics of *kendō* which clearly distinguish it from the European art of fencing, even though in such depictions as the duel with the bear in Kleist's *Marionettentheater*, Western images of perfect fencing are discernible that certainly resemble the Japanese art.

At this time I wish to express my deep appreciation to Professor Horst Hammitzsch, my teacher of many years, under whose thoroughly gracious and patient patronage this work came into being.

Introduction: A Survey of the Historical Development of Japanese Swordsmanship

The sword, along with the spear, has played an important role in the Japanese consciousness since ancient times. Swords of bronze existed together with those of stone as early as the Yayoi culture (third century BC to third century AD), which was brought into Japan by as yet unidentifiable immigrants and which displaced the 'original' Japanese Stone Age culture of the Jōmon Period. The forms and decoration of these swords indicate that they had been made not for use as weapons but rather for ritualistic purposes – as were the bronze bells, *dōtaku*, of the same period.[1] Giving a sacred value to their 'tool' was as necessary and natural a development for a people of warrior conquerors, which the Yayoi people certainly were, as was the worship or deification of other powers and objects which strongly influence human life, such as the sun or the reproductive organs. We can assume that the sword thus gained special significance through direct association with the mysteries of life and death, even though we cannot reconstruct a detailed picture of the religious beliefs of the Yayoi people. Here, however, we can consider the origins of the concept of the 'Holy Sword', a concept which has persisted throughout Japanese history.[2]

A record of the early cult of the sword is found in the mythology of the Japanese people, particularly as transmitted in the historical works *Kojiki* (712 AD) and *Nihonshoki* (720 AD). Even Izanagi no Mikoto, the father of the deities, used the sword Totsuka no tsurugi to kill the fire god Kagutsuchi no Kami, whose birth had led to the death of his wife Izanami.[3] The Ama no murakumo no tsurugi (the Heavenly

Cloud-Gathering Sword) or the Kusanagi no tsurugi (the Grass-Mowing Sword), which Amaterasu Ōmikami gave her grandson Ninigi no Mikoto to take with him to Yamato, is one of the Three Divine Treasures,[4] along with mirrors and jewels. Susanoo no Mikoto had removed it from the tail of the eight-headed serpent monster Yamata no orochi, which he had slain, and presented it as a 'wondrous' (*ayashiki*) sword to the Heavenly Spirits.[5] There are many other examples. Even today, various shrines worship divine swords as religious relics, e.g. the Iso no Kami-jingū (Nara-ken), the Futsu no mitama no tsurugi, as well as the Kashima-jingū (later a treasured relic of swordsmanship), the Atsuta-jingū, and others.[6]

Just as mythology blends with history in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki*, semi-historical and historical heroes align with deities who derive power from the sword. These people are accredited with masterful skill in handling many weapons, including the sword, although it may not be the most important. In the *Nihonshoki*, for example, extraordinary mastery in the martial arts is attributed to Suizei Tennō, the second ruler according to traditional chronology.[7] The son of Sujin (Shujin) Tennō, Toyoki no Mikoto,[8] gained similar fame, as did a later prince, the son of Monmu Tennō (683–707), Prince Ōtsu.[9]

In 688, the third year of the rule of Jitō Tennō (645–702), Takata no Obito Iwanari was honoured for his achievements in the *san hyō*, the three disciplines of battle: archery, swordsmanship, and spearsmanship.[10]

During the Nara Period (710–784), China also contributed to the development of this aspect of Japanese culture. Kibi no Makibi (Mabi, 693–775), the great advocate of Chinese culture in Japan, brought from China the military writings of the two renowned and highly respected Chinese military experts Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i.[11] It is likely that these were not the only works on Chinese strategy and weaponry which came to Japan at that time.[12] Because the young State was still threatened by the Emishi or Ainu and the situation in the more immediate empire was still tense, superiority in the technology of weapons and military skills was necessary. Several rebellions broke out during the lifetime of Kibi no Makibi alone: those of Nagaya-ō (729, staged by the Fujiwara), Fujiwara Hirotsugu (740), Tachibana Naramaro (757), and Fujiwara Nakamaro (764).[13] Hence, great emphasis was placed on military excellence,

and during the next few years, the martial arts – horsemanship, archery, fencing, and spearsmanship – developed along the lines of Chinese tradition. We do not have a clear picture of this development today, however. Written documentation did not begin until the end of the Muromachi Period (1338–1573). Very little is known, therefore, about the further development of the sword and the martial arts during the Heian Period (794–1185) and the Kamakura Period (1185–1338).

It is possible, however, that during the Heian Period the still-present Chinese sword tradition was not the only one in existence. The development of a purely Japanese art of swordsmanship may have begun during this period, especially in its later years. Following the military unrest of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Tenkyō no ran, 940; Zen Kunen no eki, 1051 [1054]–62; Go Sannen no eki, 1085–7; repeated battles and continued unrest among the armies of monks; later the conflict between the Taira and Minamoto clans),[14] the sword, now given a more or less pronounced curve (Jap. *sori*), had become the basic weapon of most warriors, whereas in earlier times when the sword had been relatively expensive, the bow and arrow and the spear had been the weapons used by most armies. After the Heian Period, a steady increase was evident in the number of swordcutlers known to us by name: from about 450 in the Heian Period, their numbers grew to 1,550 in the Kamakura Period, and to approximately 3,550 in the Muromachi Period.[15]

It can be deduced from the *Heike-monogatari* (pre-1220) that the perfection of specialized techniques closely associated with the curved sword had made notable progress by then.[16] It remains unclear, however, whether and to what extent the specialization and training of more than a very limited circle had developed in the field of swordsmanship. Reference is made to this in a number of sources, including the legends of the *Heiji-monogatari* (pre-1219) which revolve around the youthful hero Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–89) and his stay at Sōjōgatani in the mountains of Kurama, where he is said to have been initiated by a stranger or by one or more Tengu into the secrets of swordsmanship.[17] The *Hōgen-monogatari* (pre-1221) reports that the famous warrior and archer Minamoto no Tametomo (1139–77) learned fencing from a master in the province of Higo and eventually far surpassed him.[18] Almost nothing definite can be deduced from these references about the

state of the development of the art of swordsmanship, no matter how valuable a source military histories may sometimes be. The great emotional value of these obscure traditions is made clear by the fact that the later art drew on them repeatedly; even Chozan Shissai uses the Yoshitsune episode with the Tengu as the point of departure for his tale-within-a-tale in the 'Discourse on the Art of the Mountain Demons' (*Tengu-geijutsu-ron*) in order to lend more weight to his statements. Legends such as those about the master of the martial arts, Ki'ichi (Oni'ichi) Hōgen, and his activity in Kyōto with his many students, should be seen as a later development.[19] Their purpose was, perhaps, to educate the naive and tradition-impoverished Inaka-bushi, the uncivilized provincial warriors, and to instill in them respect for the dignity of certain schools.

Even the Kamakura Period (1185–1333)* provides no reliable data on the art of swordsmanship. Yet during this period the general trend towards military matters, towards everything having to do with weapons and weaponry, became increasingly pronounced. A new type of person came to the fore, the warrior, the bushi, who during the highly refined and emotionally-charged Heian culture had been scorned and only marginally tolerated as a necessary evil.

To a great extent, the bushi of this period were the very embodiment of what the overly sophisticated nobility scorned: crude, uneducated, primitive warriors and butchers. The new rulers of the Kamakura clearly recognized the importance of providing such souls with a spiritual support which, while ennobling them ethically, would not estrange them from their obligations as warriors. They found a means to this end in Zen Buddhism and in Confucianism. Zen and the warring profession at that time created a symbiosis similar to that which the Heian nobility had established with the esoteric schools of Buddhism, e.g. Tendai, Shingon, Kegon, and others. The Hōjō regents Tokiyori (1227–63) and Tokimune (1251–84), in particular, did much to promote Zen. Nagayoshi Saburō[20] emphasized two specific areas in which Zen and the warring profession agreed profoundly: liberation from life and death as absolute values, and the regard for a state of mind which arises

* Kammer seems to be in error here; he gives these dates as 1185–1338. See, among other works, Joseph M. Goedertier, *Dictionary of Japanese History*, New York, 1968, p. 118. (Tr.)

from this attitude and has nothing to do with mere daredevilry or recklessness. It is complete dedication and surrender to an action which, because it is committed unconditionally and without regard to selfish motives, assumes or is concurrent with the stature and value of the exercise of the spirit or Heart (*shugyō*), as defined by Zen Buddhism, for the attainment of enlightenment (*satori*). It is no surprise, therefore, that many of the later sword masters, e.g. Tsukahara* Bokuden, Iba Hideaki, and Miyamoto Musashi, were also Zen masters or had at least devoted some time to the practice of Zen.

Confucianism was able to gain a new and strong influence over the ethos of the warrior class by way of the Zen monasteries, especially those of the Gozan, the 'five mountains' in Kamakura and Kyōto, which became the guardians of education in the Chinese tradition.[21] The concept of loyalty,[22] absolute submission to the master, was quite familiar to the Japanese even before the introduction of Confucianism, but under Confucianism it took on a broader and more profound meaning which made it, for all practical purposes, the central concept of the entire bushi ethic. Through the Confucian philosophers of the Tokugawa Period, Confucianism eventually attained a position in swordsmanship which placed it, if not above Buddhism, at least equal to it, and it became a vital element in the art's philosophical and theoretical basis.

The establishment of actual schools of swordsmanship and the development of a system of rules unique to each school can be substantiated only in the middle of the Muromachi Period. The external reasons for this development are to be found mainly in the political situation of the country where the embittered battles of the most powerful feudal lords continued incessantly, left scarcely a single area of the country untouched and forced not only the bushi but other large sections of the population to take up the sword. Respect for the bushi grew, of course, in proportion to their skill with weapons – during this Period of the Warring Provinces (*Sengoku-jidai*) a man could scarcely be more successful or attain more power and respect than through his reputation as a master of the sword. The non-bushi found that knowledge in handling the sword was equally necessary

* Kammer gives this name as Tsukawara. The spelling incorporated above is based on, among other sources, P. G. O'Neill, *Japanese Names: A Comprehensive Index by Characters and Readings*, New York, 1972. (Tr.)

for them as a defence against bands of robbers, marauding peasants, or deserting soldiers, if they were not among one of these groups themselves.

According to Yamada, the elevation of swordsmanship to a sacred and artistic status did not originate with the bushi, who, despite their great experience in battle, had neither the time nor the inclination to practise technique. It arose, instead, from people who had been forced to compensate for the lack of the warrior's physical strength and battle experience by handling the sword in a manner that was technically expert. It may be difficult to single out any specific group of persons here, even though the details of Yamada's arguments may be perfectly valid. In general, the development of swordsmanship might well have been the result of the combined efforts of both groups, regardless of their composition. In addition, Zen had an externally strong formative effect through the transference of its psycho-technical methods to the mastery of a more mechanical activity.

At first glance it might appear paradoxical that *kendō* attained perfection during a period which historians extol as one of relatively stable peace following centuries of battle and war. The paradox becomes comprehensible only when one understands that the *kendō* of the Tokugawa Period is not the culmination of an uninterrupted development, but that one aspect of this development – the purely martial aspect – was suppressed for the sake of another aspect which consisted of more social and philosophical factors. These factors, in turn, are intimately connected with Japan's political history, thus a brief discussion of the latter seems appropriate here.

The long peace of nearly two-and-a-half centuries, the trademark of the Tokugawan government, was, of course, an ideal towards which the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), strove. At the outset of the first shōgun's reign, however, it was not at all obvious that this goal could be realized. Up into the time of the third shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–51), the peace in the empire was interrupted repeatedly by military unrest. The siege of the castle of Ōsaka and the obliteration of the Toyotomi (1615), the uprising of Shimabara (1637), and the rebellion (crushed at its inception) of Yui Shōsetsu and Marubashi Chūya (1615) were extremely critical situations for the bakufu.[23] In any case,

the system was later sufficiently stable so that even under inept shōguns and during the peasant uprisings, a general civil war was no longer an *a priori* danger.

During the Tokugawa Period, the sword ultimately returned to the hands of the bushi, the samurai, as a symbol of status. Thus, it need hardly be emphasized how closely related the social development of the samurai and the development of the art of swordsmanship were.

The samurai (*shi*) class was at the top of the social ladder as the State-supporting and State-preserving element above the peasants (*nō*), the mere providers; the craftsmen (*kō*), the tools; and the merchants (*shō*), who were regarded as necessary but morally inferior middlemen because of their overt striving for profit. This arrangement is prudent in times of war when the success or failure of the State depends on the sharpness of the swordblade and needs no moral or other theoretical justification. It becomes problematic, however, when it is maintained at all costs during peacetime as well, and when those who profit by it are obviously dispensable not only because of this peace but also because of their irresponsible way of life.

Originally the samurai, with whose help the shogunate had been established, were a necessary pillar of the system. But when the system stabilized and gained some security, the need to sublimate the purely warlike endeavours of this class became evident. (Demoting it to a lower status was out of the question, since the ruling families belonged to this class.) In general the means for this sublimation was Confucianism in its specifically Tokugawan forms: most importantly Shushi-gaku, Yōmei-gaku, and Kogaku-ha. The bushi were provided with more than an ideal philosophy of life through the fulfilment of Confucianism's ethical demands, especially those of filial piety (*kō*) and loyalty (*chū*). Their preoccupation with Confucianism also allowed them entry into the world of the officials and scholars who were educated in Confucian thought. A typical and, at the same time outstanding representative of this blend of Confucianism and the professional warrior was Yamaga Sokō (1622–85), the foremost representative of Kogaku-ha and a strategist of renown who gave rise to his own school, the Yamaga-ryū.[24]

The greatest danger to the bushi ethos was life in the metropolis of Edo. Drawn there both by the sankin-kōtai

system[25] and by the lure of the city itself, they fell into moral and financial ruin, and despite the drastic measures taken by the government (cancellation of debts under Tokugawa Yoshimune and Matsudaira Sadanobu, action against the rōnin,[26] establishment of schools, etc.), their corruption continued. It can be said that from the eighteenth century on, the bushi class steadily lost its importance as the representative of the bushidō ideal, although this ideal itself spread to the masses, particularly during the Meiji Period, and has survived into modern times.[27]

The development of *kendō* during the Tokugawa Period parallels that of bushidō. As with the latter, the seventeenth century is considered the highpoint of the development of swordsmanship (if one disregards the period between the First and Second World Wars with its manipulated and nationalistic swordsmanship which had nothing whatsoever to do with the professional warrior). Tokugawa Ieyasu had, even in his time, been greatly interested in swordsmanship, and there were many famous sword masters among his followers, including Yagyū Tajima no Kami Muneyoshi, Yagyū Munenori, and Ono Tadaaki (Mikogami Tadaaki), representatives of the Shinkage and Ittō traditions, the resident schools of the Tokugawa shōguns. The third shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–51), was a particularly enthusiastic advocate of swordsmanship and summoned famous sword artists from all parts of the country to Edo for regular tournaments. It was a period when, since the bushi had not yet lost their memory of battle, their self-concept still corresponded to their position in society, and, therefore, a solid foundation existed upon which swordsmanship could stand. The old schools of the art split up, new schools arose, and their numbers became legion.[28] The great majority of schools arose during the eras of Keichō (1596–1615), Kanei (1624–44), Kanbun (1661–73), and Genroku (1688–1704), and in the sixteenth century particularly during the era of Tenshō (1573–92). It need not be emphasized that many of these schools were short-lived and had an extremely limited circle of students; but as phenomena representative of the times they had the same importance as the greater and more lasting movements.

As indicated above, swordsmanship acquired the philosophical reinforcement during this time which ultimately made it one of the Japanese 'ways'.[29] This reinforcement, again, came from

basically two directions: Confucianism and Zen Buddhism. Zen Buddhism directly related the correct practice of swordsmanship to exercises for attaining enlightenment and to the desired and sought-after condition of selflessness. The complete, non-conscious blending of weapon, weapon-bearer and action is nothing other than the condition of complete emptiness; a condition which is also the goal of all other Zen exercises, absolute and without value. In contrast, Confucianism emphasized the ethical meaning of swordsmanship, although it agreed with Zen in method despite their differences in terminology. For the Confucian, swordsmanship was only secondarily a renunciation of the self. Primarily it meant ethical perfection and therefore, since the Confucian ethic is basically the ethic of the State, service to the State.

The era of Genroku (1688–1704), symbol of the golden age of the urban upper-class culture of Edo, and the period under the shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751, reign 1716–45) mark the beginning of the decline of the professional warrior and of swordsmanship. Just as the samurai had lost contact with their true calling, fighting for the protection of the country and its institutions, swordsmanship also suffered the loss of its original discipline and resoluteness, its spiritual earnestness. It developed into a highly formalized and even aesthetic, fashionable, and elegant activity. A significant factor in this decline was probably the protective armour still in use today for the face, underarms, and hips, introduced by Naganuma Shirōzaemon of the Jikishin-kage-ryū in the era of Shōtoku (1711–16), and by Nakanishi Chūzō of the Ittō-ryū in the era of Hōryaku (1751–64). The 'Holy Sword', like the Western cavalier's rapier, symbolized people 'of rank' and was used very irresponsibly. The danger was not inconsiderable at that time that simple people might well lose their heads only because of an arrogant master's desire to test his skill or the sharpness of his blade.[30] Yet the sword, complained the *Kenen-hitsuroku*,[31] had become useless in actual battle. There was no lack of people deploring this state of affairs, such as Hosokawa Shigekata (Kindai) (1720–87), Uesugi Yōzan (1746–1822), and others, but their effectiveness was limited.

Swordsmanship experienced another brief upswing near the end of the Tokugawa Period during the first half of the nineteenth century. New schools came to the fore such as the

Jiki-shin-kage-ryū, the Hokushin-ittō-ryū, the Shintō-munen-ryū, the Shinkatatō-ryū, and the Kyōshin-meichi-ryū. Then, however, came the far-reaching changes of the Meiji Restoration, which banished the old art of swordsmanship as practised with the blade but permitted the continued existence of the art of the bamboo sword (*shinai*).

During the Tokugawa Period, as indicated earlier, bearing a sword had been a privilege of the samurai class and later of those members of other classes – especially the merchant class – who had bought the right to do so by making sizeable donations to the government. Thus, the practice of swordsmanship had been generally limited to these circles. After the Meiji Restoration, however, it was forbidden to bear swords (1875). As a result, swordsmanship lost its status as the representative art of the bushi and became accessible to practically everyone – of course, it had already lost its character as a martial art to a great extent, partly due to the development of firearms during the late Tokugawa Period. It retained its symbolic value as a masculine activity *par excellence*, however, and from 1879, when it was introduced as training for the police,[32] who after 1874 had again borne swords, it received a new impetus and acquired more the character of a military sport. This development was encouraged by the awakening militarism which had been affirmed in the spectacular victory over China in 1895. In the twenty-eighth year of the Meiji (1895), in celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the founding of Kyōto (founded in 795 by Kanmu Tennō), the Dai-Nihon Butokukai was established, a society in which all efforts to promote the martial arts throughout Japan converged. The work of this society was so well received in the government and among the people that swordsmanship, now commonly known as '*kendō*', the 'Way of the Sword', was introduced in 1911 into the intermediate schools as required study. On the occasion of the Tairei Ceremony and the birth of the crown prince, great tournaments were held in 1929 and 1934 for the tennō.* The misuse of *kendō* as a means for the military training of youth (in 1941 it was even required training for schoolchildren from the fifth grade on!) led to its discredit in the period following Japan's defeat in the Second

* Emperor. Kammer is referring here to the present Emperor, whose reign began in 1926. (Tr.)

World War when the Dai-Nihon Butokukai was disbanded and *kendō* associations were outlawed. This extreme action was soon remedied, however, and in 1952 the ban was lifted. The Zen-Nihon Kendō-renmei took the place of the Dai-Nihon Butokukai. Since 1953, *kendō* has again been taught in the schools.

Chozan Shissai's Interpretation of the Japanese Art of Swordsmanship

Text and Author

The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, 'Discourse on the Art of the Mountain Demons', i.e. swordsmanship, presented below in translation, is also known by the name of *Buyō-geijutsu-ron*, 'Discourse on the Martial Arts'. It is a treatise in four parts on the correct practice of these arts, with a foreword and an epilogue. The foreword comes from the brush of Kanda Hakuryūshi and dates from 1728; the work was first printed in 1729. The present translation* is based upon the edition provided by Saigusa Hiroto and Miyagawa Akira in the collection entitled *Nihon Tetsugakushisō-zenshu*[33] and on that of Hirota Yūtarō in the collection *Bujutsu-sōsho*.[34]

The author of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* is Niwa (Jūrōzaemon) Shissai, also called Chozan Shissai (Chozanshi). The exact dates of his life are unknown, but he lived around the era of Kyōhō (1716–35) in Ōsaka, where he was very active as a writer. He studied both Japanese and Chinese affairs with equal zeal; he had a particular preference for the Chinese Taoists Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. Among his works, the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* was especially famous as evidenced by its appearance in various collections dealing with philosophy and the martial arts.[35] He is also the author of *Inaka Sōshi*† (1727; the provincial Chuang Tzu), which belongs to the literary

* i.e. Reinhard Kammer's translation into German, which served as the basis for this English translation. (Tr.)

† Kammer has Soji. The pronunciation Soshi is based on A. N. Nelson, *The Modern Reader's Japanese-English Character Dictionary*, Tokyo, Tuttle, 1971, and Shinmura Izuru, *Kojien*, Tokyo, 1969. (Tr.)

genre of satire (*kokkeibon*), and the moral work *Inaka Ikkyū* (1728; the provincial Ikkyū), also known as *Ikkyū-mondō* or (*Inaka*) *Sairai Ikkyū-mondō*.

Philosophical Trends and Objectives

In the foreword to their edition of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, Saigusa Hiroto and his co-publisher Miyagawa Akira called this work 'unique' because it extended the scope of the principles of Japanese swordsmanship to universal, generally applicable dimensions, something that was rare in comparison with other contemporary literature on this art. The reader can certainly agree with this evaluation, even though he might often desire a more concise and somewhat more specific treatment of these arts and their general application. It may be added that even though the work is not unique, it nevertheless typifies the philosophical controversies which were prevalent in nearly all areas of life during the Tokugawa Period (1603–1867) and which, of course, had a distinct effect on the arts in particular. Similarly, swordsmanship also became a subject for extremely divergent views. The Tokugawa Period was definitely not a period of sterile isolation benevolently imposed by an orthodox State philosophy which purported to provide the one and only key to salvation – even though these characteristics do appear to dominate the picture to some extent. In contrast, this was a period which boldly confronted all forms of religion, scholarship, philosophy, the fine arts, and all other cultural elements which had been accessible to the Japanese throughout the course of their history. In its pronounced syncretism and eclecticism, this period can even be likened with some justification to the T'ang Period in China and the Hellenistic Period in the Mediterranean. The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* must also be seen as a typical product of this syncretism and eclecticism.

There were essentially four religious and philosophical systems that shaped the thought of the Tokugawa Period. Predominant among them was Confucianism with its three major schools: Shushi-gaku or 'rationalistic' school; Yōmei-gaku or 'idealistic' school; and Kogaku-ha, which, in contrast to the other two schools, practised 'pure' Confucianism in the unadulterated form of K'ung Tzu and Meng Tzu. Second was

Shintō, with its successful revival of Koku-gaku, and third, Buddhism, which continued to exert considerable influence on the thinking of the period in the form of Zen Buddhism, although it had certainly lost the dominant position it had held in earlier periods. The fourth area consisted of two separate systems: Taoism and the natural sciences of the West, although the latter and Christianity, introduced at the same time, were to develop for only a short time. All of these systems opposed one another, compromised, blended and thereby pervaded the extraordinarily rich tapestry of Tokugawan culture.

Except for the Western sciences, all of these directions have found expression in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* to a greater or lesser degree. Shintō is the least apparent, mentioned in only one passage about Outer and Inner Cleanliness, although the influence it had on the theory of swordsmanship through its mystification and idealization of the sword should not be underestimated.

Daisetsu Suzuki devotes a chapter in his book *Zen and Japanese Culture* to the relationship between swordsmanship and Zen Buddhism.[36] The reader is introduced to the phenomenon of swordsmanship with great sensitivity and is provided with invaluable insights, which suggest, however, that swordsmanship and Zen are nearly identical. This may be true to a certain extent, but one must not lose sight of the fact that none of the Japanese arts, including swordsmanship, is the sole property of any single philosophical vehicle. It is more accurate to say that the spiritual system, whether philosophical or religious, uses an art form, which first conforms to its own laws, as a means of self-clarification and by so doing can elevate and guide the art to perfection, suggesting that the one could not exist without the other. Nevertheless, there is still the possibility that a single art form could simultaneously serve as a vehicle for various spiritual contexts which exist separately but on a parity with one another. Applied to Japanese swordsmanship, this means that although Zen Buddhism certainly exerted considerable influence on the art, it was not the single formative influence. The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* makes clear the important role played here by Confucianism, which, as mentioned previously, had provided the samurai class with its ethical beliefs after its rise to the upper strata of the social order during the upheavals of the Kamakura Period. The orientation of the 'Way of the Warrior', bushidō, is primarily

Confucian and only secondarily Zen Buddhist. In addition, because of the partial, fanatical rejection of Buddhism by many of the Tokugawan Confucians, which is grotesquely if not crassly depicted in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, it was only natural that a great effort was made to incorporate the central art of the bushi, i.e. swordsmanship, into the Confucian philosophy and to assimilate their differences. It goes without saying, however, that a one-sided Confucian interpretation of the historical facts is no more justified than a one-sided Zen Buddhist interpretation. Zen, of course, should not be eliminated from the Japanese art of swordsmanship, and the author of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* argues his anti-Buddhist theories *ad absurdum*, for in his system he invariably exhibits the same strong Buddhist influence that is evident in Neo-Confucianism. This will be elaborated upon later.

Tengu-geijutsu-ron, the art of the Tengu (i.e. swordsmanship), dominates Chozan Shissai's observations, yet there are no technical directions or suggestions for attaining perfect skill in handling the weapon. Such technical mastery is self-evident to the Japanese swordsman. Its importance and necessity are continually emphasized, but it can be attained only through actual practice and not through theoretical discussions, which, therefore, need not be repeated here. The Japanese swordsman is much more concerned with the search beyond technique for what Shissai repeatedly circumscribes as *kenjutsu no goi* or *kenjutsu no kyokusoku*, as the secret or deepest essence of the art of the sword. Furthermore, when this essence has been discovered, it not only serves fully to integrate into the swordsman's total personality the once purely mechanical action, which is devoid of every profound relationship to this total personality, but also to reveal to this personality a completely new dimension of existence, thus allowing it to ebb and flow in the vital rhythm of nature and the universe through absolute surrender to the action and elimination of all conscious subject- or object-bound thoughts. What Chozan Shissai presents in his *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* are, for the most part, observations with only a few practical suggestions for attaining this great harmony with the laws of nature and the universe, from which source alone perfect swordsmanship is possible.

Since these laws possess universal validity, however, they do not apply only to swordsmanship, and it is not only through

swordsmanship that a person can realize them. On the contrary, they actually demand to be applied more broadly to all other areas of life and other arts; Shissai does, in fact, attempt this though rarely in any detail. In addition to the arts, he enters another area of life which is very important to him as a Confucian: that of the human relationships between, for example, master and subject, individual and community, people and government. Nevertheless, his work is still basically concerned with art theory, and thus it seems necessary briefly to discuss Shissai's concept of art in so far as it can be inferred from the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron.*

When Shissai uses the word art (*geijutsu, jutsu*), the word or concept has a different range of meaning than in Western culture and, to some extent, in Japan itself – it is both broader and narrower than these. In Shissai's work this range does not encompass (at least not in so many words) the arts which strive for the creation of an object in which the soul of the creator becomes permanently and tangibly manifest. For Shissai, art is rather a perfected instance of behaviour, a perfected action which allows no traces to be left behind, which is transitory. It does not mean 'creating' something of perfection, but rather 'doing' something perfectly. The arts of this type which Shissai discusses in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* are, in the first place, the so-called martial arts (*bugei*): swordsmanship, spearsmanship, archery, horsemanship, and even strategy. Secondly there are those activities which the Western reader would more easily recognize as art: the tea ceremony, the kemari game, the sarugaku dance, and go game. The Westerner would, however, also classify as art the pure acrobatics which he mentions: juggling balls, balancing plates on the tips of sticks. Finally, Shissai extends the concept of art to encompass the activities of the roofer, woodcutter, farmer, and sailor.

The phrase '*Issai* no koto mina shikari*' – so it is with all things – is continually repeated. All activities are subject to the same laws and the same demands as the higher arts. While each has its individual Way, all are at the same time forms of the

* 一切. Kammer transcribes this as *Issetsu*. While the character has both pronunciations *setsu* and *sai*, the first does not exist in combination with the character 切. See Nelson, *op. cit.*, and Kenkyusha, *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Character Dictionary*, Tokyo, Koh Masuda, 1974. (Tr.)

great Way (Chin. *ta tao*, Jap. *daido*) which determines the workings of the entire universe.[37]

In this context, Shissai's concept of scholarship is intimately connected with his concept of art. It, too, is at once broader and narrower than the Western concept of scholarship. Scholarship is first the study of the Confucian writings, the loving immersion into the works of the 'saints and sages', and only secondarily is it the accumulation of knowledge of another sort – in this sense scholarship cannot be separated from study. Study and scholarship, however, have no value in and of themselves; they gain value only when one actually lives the knowledge one has gained, expresses it in one's behaviour in the most nearly perfect form possible. To recognize the Way is to practise the Way – thus, for all practical purposes, the concepts of scholarship and art merge at this point. Furthermore, since Confucianism holds scholarship to be moral, art is also moral. This will be elaborated upon later.

'If one were to train (p. 59) with heaven and earth and all things of this world as one does (p. 59) with a sword, and were to destroy this box (of unenlightenment), then the entire world would be filled with light . . .' (p. 59), says Shissai. The art of the sword is 'the art of the universe'. Yet, despite the universality to which swordsmanship lays claim in Shissai's interpretation, it must be said that from a contextual viewpoint his discussions sometimes appear somewhat paltry and stylistically long-winded, not always doing justice to the grand theme. But for just that reason his *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* can be viewed as a representative work – not always to be equated with one of genius – on the theory of the art of swordsmanship, which reflects the framework within which this art was viewed by a relatively large number of its practitioners and adherents during the Tokugawa Period.

The Role of Confucianism

The object of the following sections is not to examine in great detail the origins of Shissai's thought processes nor to correlate with a specific system of thought every single one of the terms he used in constructing his theory. Neo-Confucianism, which is the basis of his system, had, of course, integrated and restructured a broad spectrum of Buddhist elements even during

its early years in the T'ang Period (618–907), particularly through the philosopher Li Ao (died about 844). It can even be said that Confucianism rose in importance and increased its range of acceptance only through the relatively close relationship that it established with certain aspects of Buddhism after being forced into the background during the T'ang Period by the hegemony of Buddhism. During the Sung Period (960–1297), even Taoist ideas were adopted by Neo-Confucianism, particularly by Chou Tun-i (1017–73) and Shao Yung (1011–77). In the time that followed, up to Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, who were the main proponents of Neo-Confucianism, the mixture and re-interpretation of the heterogeneous elements continued. Therefore, if Confucian and (Zen) Buddhist elements in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* are discussed separately below, then it is done essentially to clarify the position of the author Chozan Shissai with regard to Buddhism and Confucianism, and thereby to point out a typical attitude of certain Tokugawan scholars and theoreticians of swordsmanship.

> The Principle is without form. Its function derives from the instrument. Without the instrument the Principle is unrecognizable. The awesome revelation of the Great Source appears in the interchange of yin and yang, and the Divine Principle of the human Heart distinguishes itself in its perception of the Four Fundamental Virtues. Although swordmanship is directed towards victory and defeat (battle), when one attains its essence, one recognizes that this essence is the marvellous simplicity of the Heart in self-revelation . . . (p. 44).

These sentences, with which the Tengu begin their discussion in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, typify in form and content the debate that follows. They are Confucian in the sense of the Neo-Confucianism propounded mainly by the Sung philosopher Chu Hsi (also Chu Tzu, Jap. Shushi, 1130–1200), whose interpretation of Confucianism under the name Shushi-gaku (Doctrine of Shushi) was the official State philosophy of the Tokugawa Period and exerted the greatest influence on contemporary thought, although sometimes only as an object of criticism. Chu Hsi and his predecessors, Ch'eng I (1033–1108) among others, steered pragmatic Confucianism decidedly towards the

metaphysical, and in doing so opened up dimensions which allowed it to give all phenomena of this world a Confucian interpretation. If all things of this world bear their eternal, unalterable principle within them, then the Confucian virtues are likewise securely anchored in eternity. This was undeniably true for Shissai as well, but it is not the primary theme of his work. He was much more concerned, as mentioned earlier, with anchoring his concept of art in that of eternity.

Chu Hsi, however, was not the only influence on the creation of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*. The voice of his great adversary Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528) also comes through clearly, less with his thesis concerning the universality of the human Heart, which is discussed only once in connection with Buddhism (p. 54), than in his criticism and rejection of Buddhism.

The following is an attempt briefly to outline the most important Confucian or non-Confucian concepts appearing in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* upon which Shissai constructs his theory of swordsmanship, and to point out their relation to the art. There will be no attempt to present a conclusive definition, but only one which applies to their use in this particular work.

Principle (Chin. *li*, Jap. *ri*). The character *li*, originally meant 'to polish, to string precious stones on a cord'. From this developed the meaning 'logical sequence, reason'. During the T'ang Period (618–906), *li*, originally a Buddhist philosophical term, assumed the meaning of 'essence, core', in contrast to *shih* (Jap. *ji*, *koto*), 'manifestation, form of appearance'. The Neo-Confucians broadened the concept to mean 'principle', which is unalterable and eternal and is inherent in all things and appearances. It is the reason for all existence; without it no existence is possible. The Principle, however, is also to be understood ethically as the basic moral principle which encompasses the Confucian virtues *jen* (Jap. *jin*)* – humanity; *i* (Jap. *gi*) – justice; *li* (Jap. *rei*) – propriety; and *chih* (Jap. *chi*) – wisdom. The Principle is as valid for the universe as for the individual. It pervades all areas of the individual's existence and activity, which can only attain perfection when in complete harmony with the Principle.

* 仁. Kammer transcribes as *nin*, which pronunciation means 'a kernel'. The above pronunciation *jin* means 'perfect virtue, benevolence, humanity, charity; man'. See Nelson, *op. cit.*, and Kenkyusha, *op. cit.* (Tr.)

Thus, swordsmanship is also oriented in the Principle and the person who practises the art must attain harmony with it. But how does one realize the purely abstract Principle in an art such as swordsmanship which is so strongly dependent upon physical and concrete conditions? For 'the Principle is without form' (p. 44), it cannot directly influence the behaviour of man nor can it be directly grasped. That is done with the aid of its more material component, the Life Force (*ki*).

Ki (Chin. *ch'i*) originally meant 'breath'. Writings are extant from the time Meng Tzu which indicate that from this original meaning there developed the concept of a vital power that is inherent in nature and man, and upon whose strength or weakness, paucity or abundance the actions of man and the functions of his body are greatly dependent. The concept will henceforth be translated consistently as 'Life Force'. The Life Force is directly related to the *ri*, the Principle, which it helps to realize. In rank it is neither above nor below the Principle, and neither one can change the other; any question regarding the primacy of either of the two would be meaningless and could not be answered in any case. For man's practical life, however, the Life Force is of greater and more direct importance. For in contrast to the Principle, man can influence the condition of the Life Force, and by doing so, since there exists a direct reciprocal effect between the Life Force and the Principle, he can bring his behaviour into harmony with the Principle. It is small wonder, therefore, that the essence and effect, care and strengthening of the Life Force occupy a distinctly central place in Shissai's theories.

> Technique (of swordsmanship) is practised by means of the Life Force. The Life Force is that which defines the form by means of the Heart. One must therefore keep the Life Force lively and uninhibited, strong and balanced. By comprehending the Principle inherent in the technique, one conforms to the nature of the instrument. From mastery of technique follow the harmony and balance of the Life Force; the technique's inherent Principle reveals itself of its own accord. And when it is understood in one's Heart, and no longer generates doubts, then technique and Principle converge, the Life Force is concentrated . . . (p. 44).

Chozan Shissai was not the only one to have difficulties in clearly defining the nature and essence of the Life Force (he tends more towards verbose discussions on how it should be rather than actually saying what it is), there are even disagreements among the Chinese philosophers on the subject. Shissai's statements can be summarized somewhat as follows:

The Life Force should be thought of as a kind of fine substance which must circulate through and fill the entire body. It can vary in its consistency, and in accordance with this has different effects upon the physical and spiritual existence of man. When it is strong and buoyant, uncongested and fluid, if it is properly distributed throughout the body and does not concentrate in the wrong places (p. 85), then it ensures – at least to a significant degree – that the functions of the body and the acts of the person can occur in harmony with the Principle. If, however, the Life Force is only sparse and thin and does not manifest the desired characteristics, then the necessary basis for a person's functioning and behaving in accordance with the Principle will not exist. Physical and spiritual inadequacies will develop; illnesses, moodiness, emotions, and desires will entangle the person in a thousand trivialities and estrange him from the Principle and the Way (*do*, *daidō*, Chin. *tao*, *ta tao*).

Thus, the perfect art of the sword can only develop upon the foundation of a healthy, vital Life Force. Despite its indispensability, however, it is nevertheless no more than the foundation. Shissai makes that clear in his example of the vital, robust swordsman (p. 50) – thus well equipped with respect to his Life Force – who is certainly superior to many master swordsmen of the time – which Shissai sees as a time of decline – because of his unbridled natural power, but who still cannot be called a master of the sword. Here this observation is based, of course, upon his lack of perfected technique, but it can also serve as an illustration of a Life Force which, despite its strength, has not yet attained perfection.

The 'material' Life Force has an equally important and highly sensitive non-material component: the 'Heart' (Chin. *hsin*, Jap. *shin*, *kokoro*). Shissai says about it:

> The non-material portion of the Life Force is
> called the Heart. It bears the Divine Principle within it
> and is superior to this Life Force. Originally, the Heart is

> without form or sound, without colour or scent; it acquires function only by means of the Life Force . . .
> (p. 57).

In this passage the Heart appears to be analogous to the Principle, except that it is intimately bound to the individual – what the Life Force is to the Principle, the Heart is to the material side of the Life Force. But it differs from the Principle on one crucial point: it is impressionable; it can develop good or evil characteristics. It has the closest possible interrelationship with the 'material' Life Force, whose conditions are communicated directly to the Heart. The Heart must be balanced, peaceful, and empty; it must be clear; it cannot be ensnared by the self or by emotions (p. 48); it must not desire. By nature it possesses the ability of intuitive awareness (*ryōchi*) and is inherently good. It loses all of these characteristics, however, when the Life Force manifests inadequacies. It can atrophy, become dark, dull, evil. It is absolutely necessary for the perfection of swordsmanship, however, that the Life Force and Heart be in absolute possession of their good qualities. They must build a unity in goodness. Shissai does not tire of describing the interrelationship between the Life Force and the Heart: 'The life of the Heart in the Life Force is like a fish swimming in the water. The fish is as free as the water is deep. If large fish do not have depth, they cannot swim about. And if the water dries up, then the fish become desperate; if the water disappears, then they die. The Heart is as free as the Life Force is strong and healthy. If the Life Force is insufficient, then the Heart atrophies, and if the Life Force is exhausted, the Heart retreats into a void. Thus, fish are terrified when the water begins to move, and the Heart becomes anxious if the Life Force begins to move . . .' (p. 76). Or further below 'An example: If a ship sails forth smoothly, the passengers are calm, but if the waves rise and the ship is endangered, they are not calm. . . .' (p. 84). These examples suffice here, although Shissai elaborates upon this relationship in much greater detail.

From the undisturbed harmony between the Life Force and the Heart, therefore, stems the possibility of perfection in swordsmanship. But what is the actual nature of this perfection which is so demanding in its prerequisites? 'Swordsmanship is

the natural reaction of the Heart, in retreat without form and in approach without a trace,' is the terse reply (p. 46). 'Although swordsmanship is directed towards victory and defeat (battle), when one attains its essence, one recognizes that this essence is the marvellous simplicity of the Heart in self-revelation' (p. 44). It is only a matter of reacting naturally, of perceiving and manifesting every change in the situation within one's actions spontaneously and immediately. In this context, however, neither of these words does justice to the event, for the reaction occurs simultaneously with the stimulus. '. . . it is like the moonbeams which appear immediately when a door is opened, the tone that arises as soon as an object is struck' (p. 58). It would, therefore, be a disastrous mistake to see in this immediate reaction simply a quick reaction, being tensed and ready to act. It is not a state which a person imposes upon himself for a specific length of time and can then put aside again when the situation no longer demands it. It is rather a state which, once attained, is always present and determines the person's total behaviour and not just that demanded in a critical situation. It is also a state, however, which cannot be forced to appear even by the strongest act of the will. Shissai explains this state of absolute openness in the face of each change in situation, which alone enables a person to be overpowered by no situation, with the paradox: 'Motionless while moving, in stillness not still'. He illustrates this with two situations of battle:

> What does it mean 'to be motionless in motion' . . . ? In terms of swordsmanship this means: If (p. 67) a man is confronted by a superior enemy force, even though he may dispense his cuts to the right and to the left, his spirit will remain completely still in respect to life and death and his thoughts unmoved by the superior enemy's power; this is called 'motionless in motion' (p. 67). . . . Now what is the meaning of 'being not still in stillness'? . . . In terms of swordsmanship this means: A person confronts the enemy with his sword or spear in hand. If in this act he is impartial, without hate or fear, without thinking 'should I do this or that?', and from this frame of mind adjusts to the approaching opponent, then that person's reactions will be

> unhindered and free. Although the form moves, the Heart does not lose its essence, which is stillness, and although the person is still, the Heart's function, which is movement, is not interfered with (p. 68–9).

The arch-enemy of this state of absolute openness and non-entrapment, of motionless motion, is the state of *consciousness* (*i*, *ishiki*). This concept, which is used in the translation for lack of a more appropriate term, is not identical with the Western concept of consciousness. One essential difference is the inferior value, the expressly negative connotation which characterizes the Buddhist-East Asian concept of consciousness. Shissai says in this regard:

> The cleverness of imperfect knowledge (*shōchi no saikaku*) arises from the realm of the consciousness. Consciousness is the perceptions of the Heart. Although in its original nature consciousness also possessed divine purity, it is influenced by good or evil feelings, and this is the form in which it becomes manifest, and therefore the consciousness also exhibits right and wrong, good and evil. By assuming appearance in this way, it reinforces good and evil feelings and thereby gives rise to a cleverness which is trapped in one's self. This is called imperfect knowledge (p. 62).

In order to attain perfection in swordsmanship, however, it is absolutely necessary that one free oneself from this limited knowledge and return to the comprehensive knowledge (*chi*) that emanates from the divine clarity of the Heart: 'If the consciousness follows this path and no longer submits to the deceits of self-entrapment, then it will successfully restrain the emotions and will not be ensnared by them, and it will take care that they obey the Divine Laws of the Heart' (p. 63). Only then can the consciousness also attain harmony with divine clarity, i.e. merge with it and leave no trace behind. This in turn creates the conditions for unselfconscious behaviour (in the most profound meaning of the word) towards oneself and one's surroundings, from which alone perfect swordsmanship is possible.

In contrast to the combined concepts of Principle – Life Force – Heart, the ideas which revolve around motionless

motion, emotions, the consciousness and the various states of consciousness are closer to the conceptual world of Buddhism than to that of Confucianism. If they have already been incorporated into this explanation of Shissai's thought system, then it is because they are an integral part of his system and it appeared desirable to do so for the sake of logical sequence and smooth presentation.

Apart from mere terminology, however, the most pronounced Confucian element in Shissai's theory is the meaning that he gives swordsmanship. The meaning of swordsmanship lies in being good and not evil. To be good is to have achieved perfection in the context of the Confucian doctrine of virtue, in the context of the *wu lun* (Jap. *gorin*), the five relationships which regulate people's interpersonal behaviour, and of the *szu tuan* (Jap. *shitan*), the four fundamental virtues. For swordsmanship the most important of these are, of course, the relationship between master and subject and the virtue of loyalty. Shissai illustrates these with the example of Benkei, the loyal vassal of Minamoto Yoshitsune, and the highwayman Kumasaka, who was killed by Yoshitsune:

> He who studies swordsmanship and masters it, but then uses it to become a successful highwayman and considers that to be the Way of the hero, will bring injury to his body through the art. But that is not the fault of the art; the wrong will is responsible for it. Benkei and Kumasaka were equal as masters of swordsmanship; they were both men of animal strength, equally endowed with intelligence and cleverness. Benkei used these gifts to fight loyally for his master, while Kumasaka used them to pursue his thieving ways (p. 88-9).

And further:

> The fact that Benkei struck his master Yoshitsune with a cane at the border station of Ataka in the province of Kaga is not loyal in itself. That by doing so he helped his master out of trouble, that was loyal . . . (p. 89).

This is the point at which Confucian-oriented swordsmanship differs most profoundly from the swordsmanship of Zen Buddhism. It is true that in Zen Buddhism, like Confucianism,

the art cannot pursue evil goals, not because it is inherently good, rather because it had to transcend the concepts of good and evil. It is thereby totally freed from values, which for the Confucian is synonymous with lacking values since the art is then stripped of personal relationships with the surrounding world and fellow men – relationships without which the Confucian cannot exist. Here, too, Shissai sharply criticizes Buddhism when he quite obviously simplifies the position of Buddhism with respect to death (p. 54). More will be said of this, however, in the following section, which deals with the role of Zen Buddhism in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron.*

The Role of Zen Buddhism

Chozan Shissai's attitude towards (Zen) Buddhism is, as indicated above, extremely ambivalent. Shissai was a Confucian, and to make the matter more complex, a Confucian of the Tokugawa Period. As such, he was largely influenced by the prevailing prejudices and misjudgments regarding everything connected with Buddhism. These prejudices are very evident in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron.* As a Confucian with an expressly positive view towards all areas of human existence having to do with social and governmental order, and a morality actively directed towards earthly life, he bears a deep distrust and a well-rooted disdain for the Buddhist doctrine, which he considers destructive and pessimistic. That becomes particularly clear in the passage where he speaks of the Buddhist's attitude towards life and death (p. 57):

> The Buddhist lives in fear of the cycle of rebirth. He therefore dismisses the creation as deception and illusion, he denounces thinking and avoids knowledge, and he becomes the Buddha himself by returning to the void where there is no coming or going. The fear of the cycle of rebirth is not a part of the doctrine of the Holy One, which teaches that a person simply returns by way of each metamorphosis to a state of dissolution.

To the Confucian, the Buddhist's fear of rebirth into a life that is synonymous with suffering makes him unable to fulfil with

dignity his place as a human being and member of the community in this world and in this life, which for the Confucian form the only acceptable arena for self-realization. That is possible only when one is in harmony with the great Way or the Principle – but the fear of rebirth makes it impossible. In Shissai's system of the forces that determine human life, every fear is a consequence of the inadequacy of the Life Force (p. 86), which obstructs the clarity and natural simplicity of the Heart and thus also the freedom gained from a life that is in harmony with the great Way. Thus, in Shissai's view, a Zen monk can never really attain perfection in swordsmanship because he has a different attitude not only towards life, but towards death as well.

> Swordsmanship is an art which is concerned with life and death. It is easy to give up life and die, yet it is difficult not to perceive life and death as a duality. However, he who does not perceive life and death as a duality will attain liberation (in swordsmanship) without difficulty (p. 53).

Yet according to Shissai, the Zen monk who even attempts to do this is on the wrong path:

> The monk hates the cycle of rebirth and lives in anticipation of his total extinction. He has estranged himself from life and death by binding his Heart to death from the beginning. He rejects the demands of life. The only thing that he does not do is hate death. But to say that life and death form a unity for the Holy One is different from this attitude. To surrender to life while alive and to death at dying is not to divide the Heart. Fulfil its Way by following what is just! In this way. one does attain liberation (p. 78–9).

> Total extinction is the most important thing for that person, the demands of life do not interest him; for him only death is a positive. For precisely this reason, he does not succeed in freeing himself from the demands of life (p. 54).

This evaluation agrees with Wang Yang-ming's criticism of Buddhism. He says that although the Buddhists claim that

they are not bound by material things, in actuality they are by virtue of their fear that those things might bring them suffering.[38]

This is not the place to examine the justification of such criticism. It is only of interest here as an essential point in Shissai's theory of swordsmanship. His criticism becomes even more intense a few lines later when he ridicules what, according to him, is the most unforgivable offence of the (Zen) Buddhist, one which places an unsurmountable obstacle in his path to perfect swordsmanship:

> That is obvious in the way in which he conducts his daily business. He remains aloof from literature, he rejects (the ranks of) lord and subject as being useless, makes no distinction between punishment and reward, takes no military precautions, and regards the worship and government of the Holy Men as child's play (p. 54).

From this perspective it becomes only too clear that Shissai is endeavouring by any means possible to underrate the influence of Zen Buddhism on swordsmanship. He cannot deny that masters of the sword have often joined with Zen monks (p. 56). Yet he concedes to the Zen monks only the possibility in certain situations of assisting a swordsman, who by his own efforts cannot break through the stagnation which his development has reached, by teaching him the Zen version of the 'Principle of Life and Death'. They give the adept swordsman a spiritual push, so to speak, which sets him on the right path, even though the initiator of this sudden push had intended for him to go in a totally different direction. Yet 'he who is not yet mature in the art (i.e. does not possess a solid foundation in practice and technique) may follow the famous and wise bonzes and he still will not gain enlightenment' (p. 56).

This argumentation is weak, and it appears that Shissai himself did not feel perfectly at ease with it. His spasmodic attempts to underrate Buddhism are themselves clear indications that he thoroughly understood the great importance of (Zen) Buddhism in the development of swordsmanship, although it causes him great annoyance. In another passage he judges Buddhism much less harshly. There he concedes to Buddhism, as well as to Taoism and the other movements in Chinese philosophy, the same honourable intentions as Confucianism,

although the latter doctrine at once is superior to and embraces all of them.

> Lao Tzu, Buddha, Chuang-Tzu, Lieh Tzu, Ch'ao Fu, and Hsü Yu are all agreed in their concept of a Heart that is no longer ensnared by the self and is free of desires. Therefore, they do not entangle the Heart in the most insignificant and selfish thoughts. Only the landscapes which they have seen along the path are different. And for this reason alone did a schism occur and different schools arise. The way of the Holy One has the heavens above it and the earth below it and omits neither mountain nor stream nor plain (i.e. it is universal) . . . (p. 73).

Yet apart from this one outburst of tolerance, he misses no chance to polemize against Buddhism.

Apparently it does not disturb Shissai at all that a great part of his argumentation would not have been possible were it not for the existence of (Zen) Buddhism in the first place. Even his terminology is largely Buddhist, due to the fact that many of the lines of thought on Buddhism (particularly Zen Buddhism) which he presents, considers, and modifies, had been integrated into the universal system of Neo-Confucianism. Fung Yu-lan even goes so far as to say that the Neo-Confucians adhered more closely to the fundamental tenets of Buddhism than the Buddhists themselves.[39] In view of the philosophical emphasis in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*, it appears to be almost an irony of history when, in his earlier-mentioned book *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Daisetsu Suzuki illustrates the essence of the concept *mushin* with a passage from the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*.[40] It is the passage (p. 69) in which Shissai discusses the concept of the 'moon in the water'. The origin of this concept, both as to form and content, cannot be determined precisely. Chu Hsi uses it as the image for the essence of the *T'ai Chi*, the Absolute, or in the formulation of Fung Yu-lan, the 'Supreme Ultimate'. which is contained in all things of this world in its entirety. is in every individual thing, and yet is indivisible and complete. Fung Yu-lan noted that this concept is similar to certain images and doctrines of the Buddhist Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai schools, and that Chu Hsi could well have been influenced by these two schools in the matter.[41] However, attributing the

image completely to Zen Buddhism, as Suzuki does, seems to be one-sided at best.

If there is no greater elaboration in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* on Taoism, it is not because its contribution to the swordsmanship of Chozan Shissai was insignificant or totally absent. Taoism, certainly a sound and essential component of Neo-Confucianism, does have its place in Shissai's theory. It becomes apparent in his interpretation of Chuan Tzu's parable when he asserts that the training of a fighting cock has an aim analogous to that of swordsmanship. The cosmic imagery surrounding the 'Sword of Heaven's Son' in Chuang Tzu's chapter 'Joy of Fencing' may also fit into Shissai's concept to a great extent, although curiously he deduces from this story merely that in ancient times there existed no art of the sword in China other than one whose sole aim was killing (p. 79). The influence of Taoist traditions also emerges clearly when Shissai incorporates the original cosmic powers yin and yang, the negative and positive elements in the universal Life Force, into his discussions on the nature and conditions of the human Life Force. In general, however, Shissai sees Taoism only as a first step along the 'Way of the Holy One'; a splinter doctrine which, although it agrees with Confucianism in certain essential points such as a Heart not bound by the self and the goal of desirelessness, still does not completely attain the latter's stature (p. 73). Shissai provides no support for this judgment except one image of the various landscapes in which teachings of this type are entrapped. In view of the extremely strong tendency towards a moral interpretation of swordsmanship that characterizes Shissai's work, it may be appropriate to look to the lack of a social and moral orientation in Taoism to justify this evaluation. Nevertheless, Taoism is not a point of contention for Shissai, and it appears neither as a negative stimulus nor as a positive goal. Thus, further examination of its role in the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* would have to be made strictly in the form of a detailed analysis of its philosophical elements, which would be interesting but cannot and should not be given here.

The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* is more than an informative and essential source for gaining an understanding of the interplay of Confucian and (Zen) Buddhist elements in swordsmanship. Its discussions also touch upon other considerations involved

in the practice of the art, which are no less spiritual and have no lesser claim to general validity and universality than do its purely philosophical discussions. Two of these considerations will be touched upon below: that of instruction and learning, and that of form and technique, and the value and position of each within Shissai's philosophy.

Form and Technique

Although form and technique cannot be taught or explained theoretically but only attained through unrelenting practice, Shissai seizes every opportunity to point out their importance and indispensability to the true art of swordsmanship. For, along with his more scholarly contemporaries (one is reminded here of the foreword to the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* by the scholarly expert of military science, Kanda Hakuryūshi), he is well aware of the fact that swordsmanship is just as susceptible to an overemphasis of its spiritual elements as to a decline into a purely mechanical skill. Shissai was also aware that the period in which he lived was vulnerable to the temptation of realizing both extremes. Shissai seems to see the greater danger in overemphasizing the spiritual aspects at the expense of the mechanical skill when he says: '. . . the students . . . strive to reach Heaven without allowing themselves sufficient practice! That is today's trend!' (p. 52). The demand which he makes many times is that the student prove himself in technique (*waza*), and that he mature within the technique.

This applies, quite naturally, not only to swordsmanship. In this context Shissai again takes the opportunity to criticize Zen Buddhism:

> How could the Zen monk, who is said to have an enlightened Heart and who is entrusted with the government and made superior war-lord of the entire country, distinguish himself in confrontation with the enemy? However free his Heart may be from impurity and vanity, he will fail because his technique in military command has not attained maturity (p. 46).

Without training and the mastery of technique, the correct form will not evolve. Form, furthermore – the true form that

develops from within and not the mere formalism exhausted in the use of the technical tricks one has learned – is very important to him as a Confucian. Form means correct order, correct order means propriety, propriety means ethically correct behaviour, and ethically correct behaviour, in turn, is a basic condition of the true art of swordsmanship according to Shissai's concept. It is certainly no coincidence that Shissai alludes to the death of Tzu Lu, the unruly disciple of Confucius, who even in the moment of his death was intent upon maintaining the appearance of a nobleman, a *chün-tzu*, and therefore set straight his cap, the symbol of nobility (p. 50). The connexion is not made literally, but it can be deduced quite naturally in view of the demand that swordsmanship be a natural reaction of the Heart. For, 'the Divine Principle of the human Heart distinguishes itself in its perception of the Four Fundamental Virtues (*shitan*)' (p. 44), which include *rei*, propriety, and *gi*, justice. Form, in addition, arises from the concerted efforts of the Heart and the Life Force.

Thus, the ethical aspect of swordsmanship is also expressed in the concept of form. This form, however, does not possess the inflexibility often engendered by the Confucian ethic. True form applies equally to weapon, swordsman, and the changing situation. It flows, free from congestion, exactly like the ideal state of the swordsman and his Heart: like peaceful water or a mirror which immediately reflects every change in the situation, that is, reacts without even slightly becoming involved itself. Involvement means confusion, turbidity, disorder. A form that is clear and peaceful within itself can never develop from this. The ideal form, then, is better represented by the word 'formlessness', although it is difficult to redefine the negative Western meaning of the word in a positive sense. In the positive sense formlessness means freedom, impartiality with respect to every learned rule and absolute assurance in its application. Only this will enable the swordsman to deny the opponent any opportunity for attack within the form.

Closely connected with form is the relationship between the artist and his medium, be it horsemanship, archery, swordsmanship or any other art. The perfect form of formlessness arises only when the practitioner has not just fully mastered his medium technically, but also creates an indestructible unity with it. Thus, in the art of archery: 'Bow and arrow are, of

course, made from wood and bamboo; yet if the archer's spirit blends into a union with them, then the bow is also filled with the spirit and is an equally marvellous creature' (p. 47). Or in horsemanship: 'The horse forgets the rider and the rider forgets the horse; they form a spiritual unity and are no longer two distinct entities. One could say of this situation that there is "no rider in the saddle and no horse under the saddle"' (p. 68). It must be said that Shissai did not actually address these remarks directly to the subject of form. Nevertheless, this interpretation seems justified by the profound interrelationship of the individual elements of the art (of swordsmanship).

Even the formulation of the last-quoted sentence – it could be a Zen Buddhist kōan – very clearly demonstrates the significant role Zen Buddhist ideas play in Shissai's theory of swordsmanship.

Instruction and Learning

Although swordsmanship can be mastered only through the totality of man's existence and does not simply claim a limited part of him, it can nevertheless be learned.

> What do you mean, it (the Way of the Sword) is inaccessible? A person can attain the stature even of a holy man through study – how much more easily, then, mastery in a limited artistic skill such as swordsmanship? Swordsmanship is basically the exercising of the Life Force . . . (p. 53).

The student need only apply a steadfast will and pursue his study along the proper path, then the art will reveal itself to him, too. Whether he attains his goal quickly or over a long period of time depends on his natural gifts (p. 53), and also, of course, on the extent to which the previously mentioned modifiable elements of his total constitution blend together.

The Master plays an essential role in this process; it is often up to him alone whether or not the student attains his goal. He is not merely the purveyor of technical skills but is also the student's spiritual leader, whose instructions must be followed unconditionally. 'The teachings of the Master are to be trusted,' as Shissai says (p. 51). Only in this way does the student enable

the teacher to employ his particular kind of guidance, which is passively waiting rather than actively encouraging; although eventually the encouragement resulting from the use of this method is much stronger. 'The Master first teaches technique (*waza*) without wasting a word about its significance; he simply waits for the student to discover this himself. This is called "drawing but not shooting" . . .' (p. 51). If the student possesses the necessary dedication and the Master provides the necessary spiritual inspiration, then the meaning and essence of swordsmanship will reveal themselves to the student. This self-revelation is all the more valuable when it demonstrates to the student what powers lie latent within his own being.

> Not because he (the Master) is wicked does he withhold explanation. He does it simply because he wants the student to attain mastery through practice and the involvement of his Heart. If the student has worked with his whole Heart and achieved something through his own power, then he departs and comes before the Master. And the Master, if his Heart tells him to, merely confirms it to him. There is no instruction on the part of the Master . . . (p. 51).

This method of instruction has become the method generally used in the Japanese arts. Shissai calls in this instance upon Confucius, who also advocated this kind of guidance and repudiated detailed explanations when he said: 'He who does not strive will not receive my assistance; he who does not apply himself will not have the way opened to him by me. If I show him one corner and he cannot apply it to the other three, I will not repeat it' (p. 51).[42] Here Shissai sees an important reason for the decline of swordsmanship during his time: The Master takes the student by the hand and, rather than allowing him to develop and mature on the foundation of technical practice, he places a spiritual burden on the student which the latter is unable to bear. Then the student either gives up, or:

> As regards the Principle, the students certainly do reach a high level after a time [for the Principle, as Shissai often emphasizes, is not difficult to grasp intellectually], therefore, they reject the ancients for their inadequacy

> and even strive to reach heaven without gaining sufficient practice! (p. 52).

Therein lies the real task of the Master: to delegate to the student exactly those tasks which he is capable of mastering, and then to leave him as far as possible to himself and his innate abilities. Then the study of swordsmanship can begin at a very early age. Here, too, Shissai draws from Confucius when he says: 'In ancient times they had to irrigate and sweep, answer and respond . . .'[43] For '. . . a person does not use a young tree with two leaves as a support, rather he must give the tree some support and take care that it does not bend' (p. 66).

Shissai attempts to point out the profound relationships that exist between learning and knowledge, student and Master. He does not concern himself with trivial school problems. He is also remarkably outspoken with regard to the decorative trappings of the teaching profession. Secret teachings and traditions related by the Master to chosen students, and progressive initiation into the closely guarded secrets of the school are characteristics which have developed in all types of art instruction in Japan and China since ancient times. They have served to mystify the practice of an art and have often placed it in direct relationship to magic and the performance of miracles.[44] Shissai, on the other hand, openly points out that such secretive practices are didactic aides. In doing so, he demystifies them without challenging the authority of the teacher. Thus he says:

> If it is not treated with secrecy, then the beginner has no trust in it. . . . The beginner has no ability to discriminate; he accepts blindly, understands incorrectly, and naturally considers what he understands to be the truth. If he passes it on to others in this form, then this too is dangerous. Therefore, it seems, he is taught only those things that he can understand. If a person has penetrated to the heart of the matter, then he shares it with the beginner in detail and hides nothing, even if he should belong to another school (pp. 79–80).

But 'it is not desirable to have an outsider observe this, misunderstand its meaning, consider it imperfect, and wildly

criticize it. For that reason, too, there must be secrecy! It should not be blindly denounced!' (p. 80).

In these discussions Shissai proves himself to be a clear-thinking and responsible pedagogue whose opinions, although Confucian in nature, are never pedantic or rigidly ideological. On the contrary, they demonstrate more human maturity and understanding than are found in his other discussions. For this reason they may comprise one of the most valuable elements of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron.*

Summary

The *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* of Chozan Shissai is certainly not the most important or profound work on the theory of swordsmanship. If, for example, one were to compare the *Fudōchi Shinmyō-roku* (see p. 80) written by Takuan Sōhō, one would find that Takuan had a much firmer grasp on his material and presented his theses with greater authority and logic and, thus, with greater conviction. But what makes the unabridged *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* worth presenting in translation is the extraordinary quantity of thoughts and theses of the most diverse origins and the wealth of images and analogies which often sketch a concept better than many words could. Outstanding as well are the urgency and human frankness with which the author defends his conviction that the Way which he represents is the only and the true Way upon which all men, not only swordsmen, can do justice to their existence. That he occasionally becomes intolerant must be ascribed to his good and not his bad intentions. Another value of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* lies in its attempt to free swordsmanship from its reputation as an activity directed solely towards death, which it had for many of Shissai's contemporaries, and to incorporate it into the system of Confucianism and its positive approach to the world, life, and man. If, in doing this, Shissai resorts to Buddhist thoughts and concepts, then he personally bears only secondary responsibility for confusing the issue. Primary responsibility must be borne by the system of Neo-Confucianism, which itself demonstrates many Buddhist influences and to which Shissai belongs. A further value of the work lies in its unrelenting emphasis on the general applicability of the laws of swordsmanship to all areas of human life and in its rational and frank stand

vis-à-vis all attempts to mystify the art. The form of a story-within-a-story, which places Shissai's views in the mouths of the Tengu, is a purely literary device and does not support such attempts at mystification even though this form and the choice of title might perhaps appeal to an audience which Shissai wanted to convert – for one can hardly deny the instructive and proselytizing character of the work.

Below is a brief summary of Shissai's most important theses which may serve the reader as a guide to the translation of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* which follows:

1 The perfect art of swordsmanship consists of two components: technical control and spiritual awareness. The two together must form a unity; each is unalterable by the other.

2 Spiritual awareness manifests itself in the 'natural simplicity of the Heart'. The swordsman must spontaneously conform to each new situation without being even slightly diverted by emotions or intentions. The reaction must follow as immediately as a mirror reflects an image; it must not cling to any situation.

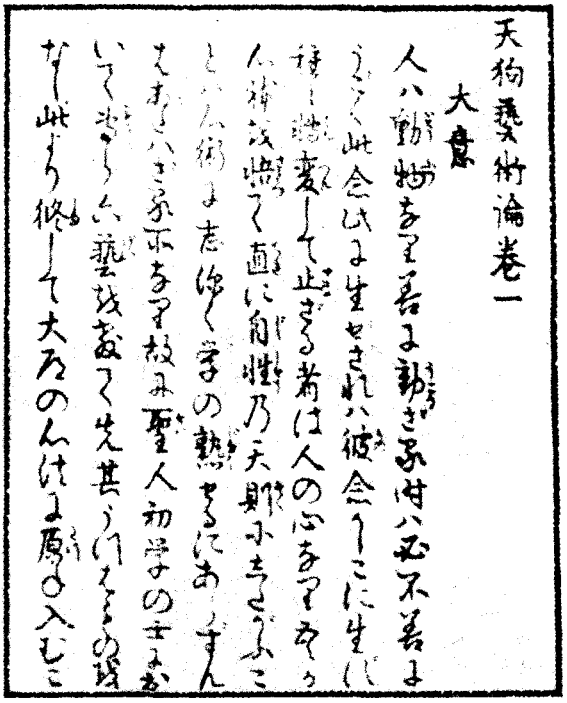
3 Absolute openness to the situation is possible only if the individual components of the spiritual-physical constitution (Principle, Life Force, Heart) can develop without restriction. This can be mastered only through practice.

4 Perfect swordsmanship, which is gained through the technical control and spiritual perfection described above, has, however, no value in and of itself. It must be practised in harmony with the ethical foundations of humaneness, propriety, and loyalty, which are rooted in the universe. It is of value only in proportion to its usefulness to society and the State. The Buddhist, because he rejects these values, cannot become a true master of swordsmanship. Mastery is reserved for those who follow the Way of Confucius and thereby the Way of the universe.

Chozan Shissai is strict in his demands. He takes man and the claims made upon him by his environment very seriously. He is not irresponsible in his approach to an art in which the life or death of a human being can be decided. Thus, his work is also a treatise on humanity, despite its warlike theme and

pespite its disagreements with Buddhism. Within the framework he has established he has fulfilled the demand of Confucius when he said to Tzu-hsia:

'As a scholar be a nobleman and not a commoner.'


天狗藝術論卷一

大意

人ハ動物なり善と惡とあり惡ハ必不善と
なり此念慮より生ぜされハ彼念慮ここに生じ
種々に變化して止まる者は人の心なり
人術技藝なり直に自然乃天則ふるまふこ
と人術と者作り学の熟するにあらずん
ばあるべからず故に聖人初学のさまを
いて学ぶべき藝技を先甚うけたるの技
なり此より修して大乃のんけと原○入むこ

Beginning of the Tengu-geijutsu-ron
Woodcut from the year 1729

Tengu-geijutsu-ron (Discourse on the Art of the Mountain Demons)

Foreword

In general, the primary goal of swordsmanship is to gain physical proficiency in handling the sword. To this end, the various schools have developed a wild profusion of inward and outward forms. If after a time one acquires the necessary physical abilities, the knowledge of how to adapt to changing situations, and faith in the body's movements, if one adjusts to the stillness or motion of a particular situation, recognizes one's own strengths and weaknesses as well as those of the opponent, and if one's thoughts and emotions are properly channelled, then one will come to know spontaneously the behaviour to be manifested in future contests. Form alone, however, cannot explain the phenomena known as the 'Sword that kills' and the 'Sword that grants life'. It is only when emotion and intellect, hands and feet can meet the demands of the changing situation that the decision over life and death lies with oneself and not with the opponent. Today there are warriors who have gained universal fame for their swordsmanship. Each school divides into ten thousand splinter schools which indiscriminately adopt the rules of the main school and pass them on to their students. One group bases its instruction on lofty principles and asserts that the thorough assimilation of these principles would enable the student to become ruler of the world and the empire. Another group maintains that with its perfect technique, an individual could take on ten opponents at a time. The third group says that if a person simply learns to develop and properly channel the Heart and Life Force, he

could easily prevail over all of life's oppositions. Oh, these are all haughty and eccentric teachings and have nothing at all to do with the true art of swordsmanship. Students acquire the mistakes of their teachers and proceed to pass them on to their own students. It is like the proverb: 'What one hound bellows incorrectly, ten thousand return as correct!' Is this not disheartening? It is for these reasons that many have strayed from the proper course, and there may be few left indeed who not only strive for mastery of technique, but practise the art of educating the Heart as well. Chozanshi Shissai is one of these. For many years he has devoted himself to the teachings of the saints and the sages and has been deeply concerned about those who practise the martial arts. He laments that those who study swordsmanship as it is practised throughout the world have lost sight of the essence of the art, have become preoccupied with trivialities, misunderstood its Principle, rejected its technique, and have, without exception, strayed from the correct Principle of swordsmanship. He composed his work *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* to instruct the young and the uninitiated. Using the cryptic discourse of the Tengu, he speaks first of the true Principle of swordsmanship. Then he discusses the most profound Principles of various other arts such as horsemanship and strategy and finally concludes the work by once again taking up the discussion on the care of the Heart and the Life Force. What he does is to make the warrior aware of the original Way of his art. He also makes it exhaustively clear in his work that the path from the insipid to the profound, from the base to the lofty, also embraces the laws and the order of the world. When the true warrior has gained a firm foundation in these teachings, has learned the martial arts, and practised swordsmanship, then he will have the earnest desire never to deviate from that path!

Written in the thirteenth year Kyōhō (1728), tsuchinoe-saru, on an auspicious day of the last month by a recluse from the district Toshima of Kōjō (Edo) in Tōbu,[45] Kanda Hakuryūshi.[46]

I

Man is a creature of movement. If he does not move in goodness, he will of necessity move in non-goodness.[47] If a thought does

not arise from the realm of one, then it will arise from that of the other. It is the Heart of man that overcomes the most diverse changes and never remains still. Man will never succeed in comprehending his Heart, and thus in directly following the Divine Laws of his nature, if in his Heart and through his great strength of mind he does not attain mastery in his studies. Thus, the Holy One first taught the Six Arts to new students who came to him,[48] and by doing so first created the vessel. Only then did he endeavour to introduce them by means of practice to the laws of the Heart's education, which emanate from the Great Way.

If a person has been schooled in the Six Arts from his earliest youth, he regards the Heart as the essential element; thus completely of his own accord he avoids common speech, and his Heart remains untainted by games and cheap entertainments. Mischievousness, prejudice, malevolence, and vanity do not endanger his body. Outwardly he makes his body firm and thus remains free from illness. His demeanour makes him a guardian of the empire, of whose blessings he is not unmindful. When at last he attains and understands his Heart's essence, he becomes a helper in the Great Way. Think not lightly of an art because of its limitations, but neither make the mistake of elevating it to the stature of a Way!

There are men of the sword. I once contemplated thus: Long ago, when Minamoto no Yoshitsune was still called Ushiwakamaru,[49] he travelled deep into the mountainous country of Kurama where he met greater and lesser Tengu.[50] After they had initiated him into the ultimate secret of swordsmanship, he encountered the powerful robber Kumasaka at the inn of Akasaka in the province of Mino. Ushiwaka single-handedly routed the great number of the bandits in battle and slew Kumasaka. So the tale is told.[51] I also worked steadfastly in the Way, though years went by and I still had not learned its ultimate secret, which caused me to despair. I thought: If I were also to go into the mountains and join the Tengu, perhaps they would disclose the secret of the Way to me too.

In the middle of the night I went alone deep into the mountains. I sat down on a rock, meditated, and many times called out to the Tengu. But no one answered me, although I repeated this night after night. Then one night a wind rose in the mountains that disquieted me. An untold number of extraordinary,

The narrator overhears the conversation of the Tengu in the cedars
Illustration from an earlier edition of the Tengu-geijutsu-ron

red-faced, long-nosed, winged creatures collided into one another in the clouds, and their cries rang out powerfully. After a while, however, they settled upon the tops of the cedar trees, and one of them spoke: 'The Principle is without form. Its function derives from the instrument. Without the instrument the Principle is unrecognizable. The awesome revelation of the Great Source appears in the interchange of yin and yang, and the Divine Principle of the human Heart distinguishes itself in its perception of the Four Fundamental Virtues.[52] Although swordsmanship is directed towards victory and defeat (battle), when one attains its essence, one recognizes that this essence is the marvellous simplicity of the Heart in self-revelation. The novice, of course, is hardly able to penetrate these realms overnight. Thus, the instruction of the ancients followed the natural development of form, and so they mastered the technique of lunging and piercing, of attack and parry. Everything proceeded with ease and without strain. They improved the harmony between bone and muscle, practised hand- and footwork. They mastered the handling of the sword and became prepared to meet the demands of every situation. If a person has not fully mastered the technique, though his Heart may be strong, he will fail to fulfil its function. Technique is practised by means of the Life Force. The Life Force is that which defines the form by means of the Heart. One must therefore keep the Life Force lively and uninhibited, strong and balanced. By comprehending the Principle inherent in the technique, one conforms to the nature of the instrument. From mastery of technique follow the harmony and balance of the Life Force, the technique's inherent Principle reveals itself of its own accord. And when it is understood in one's Heart and no longer generates doubts, then technique and Principle converge, the Life Force is concentrated, the spirit calmed, and reactions follow unhampered. This has been the correct method of practising an art from the oldest times. Thus, in an art it is a matter of practical training. If the technique has not been mastered, then the Life Force will not be harmonious and balanced, the appropriate form will not ensue, Heart and form become two separate entities, and, therefore, one will not attain liberation.'

Still another said: 'The sword is a thing with which one strikes, and the spear is a thing with which one thrusts. What else is one to do with it? Now the form follows the Life Force, and the

Life Force follows the Heart. If the Heart is motionless, then the Life Force will be motionless as well. If the Heart is peaceful and undisturbed, then the Life Force will also be harmonious and follow the Heart in this and very naturally do justice to the technique. Yet if there are irritations in the Heart, then the Life Force will be inhibited, and the hands and feet will not perform their function properly. Too much attention to technique inhibits the Life Force and causes it to lose its harmony and balance. If one devotes oneself to technique too much, then the effects will be useless and weak. If a person sets his consciousness in motion, then he will fare as a fire which is kindled and wood which burns. If he breathes freely, he will get a dry throat, and if he holds his breath, he will swell to the point of exploding.

'In the art of swordsmanship, he who attempts to meet his opponent while waiting, concerned only with his own safety, develops into what is called a hesitater. He is his own hinderance, and he makes no progress whatsoever. On the contrary, he makes a fool of himself. He does not correctly understand what it means to "wait during attack and attack while waiting" and therefore he takes refuge in his consciousness and deals himself great harm. There are many who, while attempting to wait here and parry there, are kept in check by an unskilled but strong opponent, forced into a position of defence and do not manage to thrust. And all simply because they have taken refuge in their consciousness.

'That unskilled opponent neither knows how he should react nor has he a Heart which desires to attack here and parry there. Since he is a robust fellow by nature, however, he fears nothing, and because he values the opponent no more than he would an insect, he does not involve his Heart and has no desire to force anything. But he neither is without agility nor has he a closed mind, he does not wait and does not hold himself back, he neither doubts nor is he agitated, and when he faces his opponent in this state, he does not pause to reflect. His Life Force and Heart are equally uninhibited. The quality of his Life Force surpasses that of most master swordsmen who enjoy the world's recognition. But, in spite of this, he cannot be considered good. Although he is as uninhibited as the power of the approaching flood, his spontaneous behaviour is a result of his unenlightenment and his surrender to the Life Force of his blood.

'Swordsmanship is the natural reaction of the Heart, in retreat without form and in approach without a trace. That which possesses form and structure is not the wondrous unfolding of the simplicity (of the Heart). As soon as the slightest refuge is taken in thoughts, the Life Force assumes form, and the opponent defeats that which has thus gained form. If the Heart is free of irritations, then the Life Force is harmonious and peaceful, and when the Life Force is harmonious and peaceful, then it is lively and moves freely and is without rigid form. Without using strength, it is naturally strong. The Heart is like a clear mirror or still water. As soon as consciousness and thoughts disturb the Heart in the slightest, its clarity is destroyed, and it cannot unfold freely.

'The artists of today do not know what it means to react freely and without inhibition from the stillness of the Heart. They bring to bear the tricks of the consciousness, they expend their spirit on nonessential things and thus believe to have achieved mastery on their own. For this reason they fail in the other arts as well. There are many arts, and if one desires to practise each individual one, a lifetime would not be sufficient to master them. However, if a person devotes himself completely to a single art, then he will also have knowledge of the others without having actually practised them.'

Still another spoke: 'It is obvious that the sword is a thing with which one strikes and the spear is a thing with which one thrusts. However, he who transcends the Principle does not know about the function of the thing. The cut has its rules, and thrust has its rules, and if a person does not know their function, then he will not do full justice to them. Even though the Heart may be strong, if the form is not appropriate, then the stroke will fall where it should not fall. If one deviates from the Principle of technique, one will not attain what one desires. Then it is as my Master often said: "imprecise in choice, unclear in speech". How could the Zen monk, who is said to have an enlightened Heart and who is entrusted with the government and made superior war-lord of the entire country, distinguish himself in confrontation with the enemy? However free his Heart may be from impurity and vanity, he will fail because his technique in military command has not attained maturity.

'Everyone knows how to draw a bow and shoot an arrow. Yet he who has not based this action in the Way (of archery)

will easily miss the target if he indiscriminately draws the bow and lets fly the arrow, and he will not pierce the opponent's armour. It must be so: The will is firm, the form is correct, the Life Force fills the entire body and is lively, the nature of the bow is not violated, bow and archer form a unity. And when the bow is drawn and the archer is completely filled with this action as the spirit fills heaven and earth, then the spirit is calm, nothing moves the thoughts, and the arrow is released spontaneously. After the shot, the archer is the same as before it. After the target is hit, the bow is calmly put straight. That is the practice of the Way of archery. When followed, the arrow flies far and effortlessly pierces the opponent's armour. Bow and arrow are, of course, made from wood and bamboo; yet if the archer's spirit blends into a union with them, then the bow is also filled with the spirit and is an equally marvellous creature.

'This is not attained by the cleverness of consciousness. Of course, its Principle can be recognized beforehand, but if it is not understood from the Heart, if technique has not been mastered nor manual precision gained through practice, then its wonders will not be penetrated. If internally the will is not firm and externally the physical posture is incorrect, then the harmony between bone and muscle will not be maintained. If the Life Force does not fill the entire body, not even the greatest strength will endure. If the spirit is not calm and the Life Force is not lively, then the archer resorts to the shrewdness of a selfish consciousness and does not rely upon his (the archer's) Way. If the bow is forcedly bent and the string drawn, then the nature of the bow is violated, bow and archer oppose and contradict one another, and there is no mutual permeation of their spirits. Instead, the strength of the bow is inhibited, and it is robbed of its power, and when that happens, the arrow will not fly far and will not pierce the opponent's armour.

'It is the same in everyday dealings with men. If the will is not firm and behaviour not correct, then there will exist no loyalty towards the master and no filial respect for parents, no trust between relatives and friends, the individual will become arrogant and the masses debauched. It is no longer possible to fit into the order of things. If the Life Force does not fill the body, then the latter will develop illnesses within itself, the Heart

will atrophy, a person will be fearful within and outwardly inhibited, and he will lose the ability to recognize sublime relationships. If the nature of things is violated, a person acts contrary to human emotions. If a person severs himself from things and is not in harmony with them, then conflict will develop. If the spirit is not calm, many doubts will arise and the person will remain indecisive about himself. If the thoughts are agitated, then the inner being will not be balanced, and the person will make many mistakes in his life.

'When the Heart is motionless, the Life Force is also motionless. To say that technique is natural is merely to say that its Principle derives from the natural potentials of the body and is directed towards its goal. It cannot be said that it is useless to practise technique. The Principle derives from above while a person strives from below in his practice. That is the rule. Man's Heart is not originally evil. If he allows himself to be guided by his nature and is not led astray by passions and desires, then his spirit will be free from need and his reactions towards things will be unhampered. Thus, the words of the *Ta Hsüeh*: "the purpose of the Way of the Great Doctrine is the revelation of the light-giving virtue",[53] and those of the *Chung Yung*: "the Way is following one's nature",[54] are guiding lights for students because they come from the heights of the Great Source.

'Nevertheless, the errors of a Heart ensnared by passions are most often very profound; one cannot simply exchange one's temperament and return immediately to the simplicity of one's nature. Thus, it is important to teach men how to acquire discretion, great insight, forthright convictions and an honest Heart, to teach them to acquire personal awareness and self-discipline, and thereby to place them on the solid ground of practice – that is, to guide them towards mastery in technique. It is the same in swordsmanship. If one forgets life in the face of an opponent, forgets death, forgets the enemy, forgets oneself, if one's thoughts are motionless and one is free from the disturbances of the consciousness, and if one surrenders spontaneously to the natural flow of one's feelings, then one will be free in every changing situation and uninhibited in one's reactions. Even though form may disintegrate to dust when one is surrounded by numerous opponents, and one may disburse one's cuts and thrusts to the right and the left and forward and

Samurai training with spears
From an earlier edition of the Tengu-geijutsu-ron

back – not even the slightest fluctuation will appear because the Life Force is balanced and the spirit still. Even if it were as with Tzu Lu when he straightened his cap,[55] how could one fall with an empty hand? That is the whole secret of swordsmanship. That is, however, not a path which can be followed straightaway and without cost. Technique must be proven, the Life Force disciplined, and the Heart exerted. If one does not master these skills through great effort, then one will not attain this state. These words of my master may help the beginner on his way: "The error lies in mistaking inanity for an empty Heart, and perceiving sluggishness as harmony."

'What my master cared to call "strong but unskilled" is the same, except for one detail, as the kind of martial action which the various schools call *yaburu* (destroy with violence). That which my master described simply has no method. *Yaburu* means, however, that the swordsman drives down his opponent from the strength and buoyancy of his Life Force, that he rushes unerringly at the central power of his opponent without avoiding force and without searching for a vulnerable spot, and strikes like a falling boulder. Yet no matter how abundant the Life Force is, if the method is absent, then he will be tricked by an opponent with superior technique. If a person does not know the advantages and disadvantages of form, then he will make mistakes. Therefore, form must also be practised. If form is heeded, control will not be lost, life and death will be forgotten, the Life Force will neither be absorbed nor restrained, and one will proceed without being troubled by doubts. There is a *yaburu* of the Life Force and one of the Heart, yet they are one and the same. If Heart and Life Force do not build a unity, then a person will not be capable of *yaburu*. That is the model path which novices and beginners in swordsmanship must tread. Yet, if the Life Force is weak, and the slightest doubt exists, then the art cannot be practised. The swordsman exerts the Life Force[56] and takes care to free his Heart of doubts. Yet because this bears the character of partiality, it is not the wondrous art of freeing the Heart and making it unhampered in its reactions, for to accomplish this requires tremendous effort. If the Principle is clear, technical skill has been attained, and a zealous Life Force has become peaceful, then one will attain mastery and progress towards the essence. If, from the beginning of study, theory is the only consideration, the student

will lack his outer armour and, despite all efforts, will never attain technical perfection.'

One of them appeared to me to be a Great Tengu. His nose was not so long, his wings were scarcely to be seen; he sat upon his seat properly attired in ceremonial clothing and began to speak: 'All that you have discussed here is not unreasonable. Since ancient times, it is has been true that the emotions are friendly and the will amiable; that working towards technique is a respectable activity, that one should be persistent and should never neglect technique; that the teachings of the Master are to be trusted and exercised wholeheartedly from morning to night; that technique is to be practised, confusing things resolved, mastery of technique attained, and one's essence and Principle comprehended. In this way, deep inner awareness is attained. The Master first teaches technique without wasting a word about its significance; he simply waits for the student to discover this himself. This is called 'drawing but not shooting'. Not because he is wicked does he withhold explanation. He does it simply because he wants the student to attain mastery through practice and the involvement of his Heart. If the student has worked with his whole Heart and achieved something through his own power, then he departs and comes before the Master. And the Master, if his Heart tells him to, merely confirms it to him. There is no instruction on the part of the Master.

'This is not only true in the arts. K'ung Tzu says: "If I draw one corner, and he cannot transfer it to the three others, I do not repeat it."[57] The ancients took care to instruct according to this method. Thus, the arts and scholarship were equally important and profound for them. For men of our time, feelings are shallow and the will unsteady; from childhood they shy away from exertion and love comforts to the point that they take the quickest possible advantage of every small opportunity they perceive. If, indeed, they should be instructed according to the method of the ancients, there is nevertheless hardly anyone who practises it. Today the Way is revealed to them by the Master; he reveals the secrets of the Way in words even to the beginner and shows him where it leads; he takes the student by the hand and pulls him on – it is no more than that! Yet because they are led in this way, many become bored and

proceed no further. As regards the Principle, the students certainly do reach a high level after a time, therefore they reject the ancients for their inadequacy and even strive to reach Heaven without gaining sufficient practice! And that is today's trend! Guiding a person is like steering a horse. The Life Force which compels it to break loose must be suppressed, and the proper Life Force which compels it to remain in motion of its own accord must be encouraged, but without employing force!

'If the Heart is too deeply involved in technique, this will bind the Life Force, and it will not be harmonious and balanced. One might say that this is like forgetting the beginning in the search for the end. Yet it is also wrong totally to discard practice and say that it is unnecessary. The function of swordsmanship is technique. If its function is discarded, what reference shall the Principle of its essence have? By practising its function, one becomes aware of its essence, and it is in this awareness that the liberation of the function lies. Essence and function have one origin, there is no disparity between outward appearance and substance. Of course, sudden awareness of the Principle is possible, but if technique has not been mastered, the Life Force becomes rigid and the form unfree. Technique springs from the Principle; formlessness reigns over that which is formed. Thus, technique is practised from the Life Force and the Life Force is exercised from the Heart – that is the order in which things occur. Yet when maturity in technique has been attained, the Life Force is balanced and the spirit is calm.

'The boatman grabs the rudder and runs along the gunwale as if he were walking along a wide road. What efforts were necessary for him to do this? A skilled swimmer dares to venture into a large body of water. He knows how to handle himself so that he will not drown and therefore his spirit is still and grants him this freedom. The woodcutter treads a narrow path with a heavy load of firewood on his back, the roofer climbs the town's tower and lays his shingles. They have all mastered their technique, are free of doubts, and unafraid, and therefore their spirits are still and grant them freedom in their acts. It is exactly the same in swordsmanship. If a person is mature in this art, if his Heart has penetrated it, and he has proven himself in technique, if a person is no longer doubtful or fearful, then his Life Force will be lively and his spirit still, he will

react to every change in the situation freely and without inhibition. Yet the knowledge of this grows directly from the exercise of, as well as trust in the Life Force. Therefore, words only serve to help us explain it. That natural, spontaneous propriety of reaction, in retreat without form and in approach without a trace, its wondrous unfolding and unfathomable character – this is not reached only by being encountered in the Heart, it cannot be acquired simply by hearing about it from others, nor is it taught by the Masters. It is only acquired naturally by gaining technical skill through practice. The Master's involvement is limited to pointing the student in the proper direction. That is not easy to explain, and therefore rare in this world.'

One asked a question and said: 'If that is so, then is it not a Way which remains inaccessible to people like me, despite any amount of practice?'

He answered: 'What do you mean, inaccessible? A person can attain the stature even of a holy man through study – how much more easily, then, mastery in a limited artistic skill such as swordsmanship? Swordsmanship is basically the exercising of the Life Force and, therefore, at the beginning of study the Life Force is exercised by means of technique. It makes no sense to exercise the Life Force separately from technique from the very beginning of study, for then there is nothing upon which to test it. When the discipline of the Life Force has attained maturity, then one can proceed to the Heart. Yet whether this progress occurs quickly or slowly depends on one's inborn abilities. The wondrous unfolding of the Heart is easy to comprehend – yet it is difficult to retain freedom in every changing situation by means of one's own awareness. Swordsmanship is an art which is concerned with life and death. It is easy to give up life and die, yet it is difficult not to perceive life and death as a duality. However, he who does not perceive life and death as a duality will attain liberation without difficulty.'

One asked: 'If that is the way things are, then can a Zen monk who has overcome the concepts of life and death attain liberation as it is defined by the art of swordsmanship?' He answered: 'The goal of the exercise is different. The monk hates the cycle

of rebirth and lives in anticipation of his total extinction. He has estranged himself from life and death by binding his Heart to death from the beginning. Therefore, when he finds himself surrounded by several opponents, even if form should turn to dust he will immediately render his thoughts motionless. He rejects the demands of life. The only thing that he does not do is hate death. But to say that life and death form a unity for the Holy One is different from this attitude. To surrender to life while alive and to death at dying is not to divide the Heart. Fulfil its Way by following what is just! In this way does one attain liberation.'

One asked: 'It is one point of view to confront life and death without preference or aversion. Yet when a person rejects the demands of life, does he not act freely?'

He replied: 'From the beginning, he turns his Heart elsewhere. Total extinction is the most important thing for that person, the demands of life do not interest him; for him only death is positive. For precisely this reason, he does not succeed in freeing himself from the demands of life. Life and death are not perceived as a duality in the doctrine of the Holy One where in life one fulfils the Way of life and in death one fulfils the Way of death. Consciousness is not stirred in the slightest and the thoughts are motionless. Therefore, one is free in life and free in death. In contrast, that other person (the Zen monk) sees nothing but illusion and deception in the creation, nothing but dream and pretence in the world of man. And thus he believes that to fulfil the Way of life means to cling to life and to suffocate in its activities. That is obvious in the way in which he conducts his daily business. He remains aloof from literature, he rejects (the ranks of) lord and subject as being useless, makes no distinction between punishment and reward, takes no military precautions, and regards the worship and government of the Holy Men as child's play. And what meaning should the art of the sword and spear have for him who rejects and discards these things for their banality? When death befalls him he does not hold on to life. He simply knows that the entire world is a transfiguration of the Heart.'

One asked: 'But what about the fact that since ancient times swordsmen have joined with Zen monks and have learned their most profound secrets?'

Two Tengu pursue one of their kind
Sixteenth-century sword hilt, Louvre

He answered: 'It is not true that Zen monks have transmitted the secrets of the art of swordsmanship. Only when the Heart is balanced will a person be able to measure up to things completely. On the other hand, a person will suffer from life if he loves it and clings to it. If a person is roused and agitated in all the fibres of his Heart, as in the Caves of the Three Worlds,[58] then it only shows that his relationship to life is wrong. Those people of whom you speak had turned their wills to this art for many years, indulged in no rest, exerted their Life Force, and mastered the technique, yet the Heart had not opened in victory and defeat. They spent years and months being angry and indignant. Then they joined with a Zen monk and were taught the Principle of life and death. When they heard that all things of this world are merely transfigurations of the Heart, their Hearts opened up immediately and their spirits were calmed. They released themselves from their former goals and thus became free. They had created the prerequisites for that act by having exerted their Life Force for many years and proving themselves in technique. That cannot be attained overnight. It is exactly the same with enlightenment under the stick of a Zen master: enlightenment does not fall from the sky. He who is not yet mature in the art may follow the famous and wise bonzes and he will still not gain enlightenment!'

II

'Although mastery in all arts from juggling balls to balancing plates atop stocks is attained through practical exercise, its highest excellence is brought about by means of the Life Force. The infinity of heaven and earth, the brightness of the sun and the moon, the coming and going of heat and cold with the change of the four seasons, the birth and death of all things in the world – all of these phenomena are nothing more than the interplay of yin and yang. Their secrets cannot be completely revealed through words. All things of this world are rooted in them, they acquire life by means of their Life Force. The Life Force is the origin of life. If the Life Force detaches itself from its form (i.e. its bearer), then death occurs. Life and death are simply fluctuations of this Life Force. If one understands the origin of life, then one also knows the ultimate meaning of death.

If one has comprehended the Way of life and death, then darkness and light, god and demon become one. It relates thus to the position in which I presently find myself: if it is in life, then I am free in it, if it is in death, then I am also free in it. The Buddhist lives in fear of the cycle of rebirth. He therefore dismisses the creation as deception and illusion, he denounces thinking and avoids knowledge, and he becomes the Buddha himself by returning to the void where there is no coming or going. The fear of the cycle of rebirth is not a part of the doctrine of the Holy One, which teaches that a person simply returns by way of each repeated act of metamorphosis to a state of dissolution. If one disciplines the Life Force, knowledge of the Heart will come of its own accord.

'Although the Principle of life and death is easily recognized, to worry about it even fleetingly is to have an Errant Heart. Since this Errant Heart moves arbitrarily, the spirit agonizes and does not know that it carries a great burden about with it.'

One asked: 'The most profound meaning does not reveal itself merely in being heard from others. Yet I would like to hear in general something about practice.'

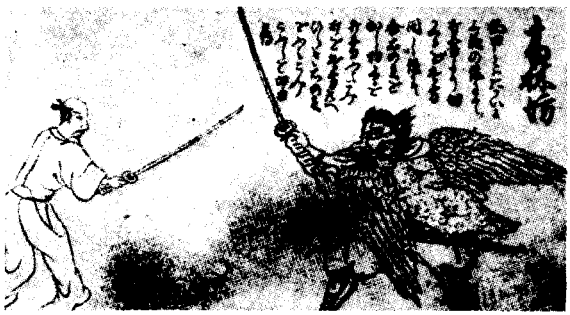
He answered: 'The Way cannot be seen or heard. What can be seen and heard of it are merely its traces. The ability to recognize what lies behind the traces is called intuition. If learning is not intuitive comprehension, then it is useless. Even though the art of swordsmanship is only a limited artistic skill, it is still within the wondrous province of the Heart, and he who penetrates to its innermost essence brings himself in harmony with the Way. Although intuition has been denied to me thus far, I have heard some things in a roundabout way. I will relate these to you now. Take what I say with a grain of salt and do not take it literally! Thus: It is the Life Force that determines form by means of the Heart. Therefore, the functions of the entire body are completely regulated by the Life Force. The non-material portion of the Life Force is called the Heart. It bears the Divine Principle within it and is superior to this Life Force. Originally, the Heart is without form or sound, without colour or scent; it acquires function only by means of the Life Force. That which penetrates the higher and lower realms is the Life Force. Every thought, no matter how insignificant, falls within the province of the Life Force.

'The movement of the Heart which is caused by its encounter with things is called emotion (*jō*). The transiency of observations is called thought (*nen*). If the Heart moves in accordance with its perceptions and follows the Divine Laws of its nature, then illumination will pervade all of its activity, and the Life Force will not move arbitrarily. To use an example: it is like a boat which, following the current, is driven downstream. Although it is moving, the boat is nevertheless completely still and shows no trace of movement. That is called being "motionless in motion". Ordinary men have not yet pierced through their illusions of life and death. Darkness is constantly upon them and keeps illumination from them. Therefore, unless actually experiencing happiness or rage, joy or grief, they are foolish and empty-headed and as if filled with dirty water. Yet the slightest movement of a single thought is sufficient, and that which lies in darkness arises, passions and drives are thrown into great confusion, and one's self overwhelms the conscience (*ryōshin*). It is like a boat toiling against the flood: the waves rise high, the boat is in motion, one is inwardly restless. When the Life Force is in confused and wild motion, reactions are not free. The art of swordsmanship is a matter of victory and defeat. It is important to cut through the roots of one's illusions about life and death right at the outset of studies. Yet these roots cannot all be cut through at once. Therefore a person must be persistent in order to recognize the Principle of life and death, he must discipline the Life Force, exert the Heart, and prove himself in the technique of combat. By practising to complete exhaustion, a person attains maturity in technique and the Life Force becomes quiet.

'When he has comprehended the Principle of life and death within his Heart, there will no longer be any doubts or mistakes. If nothing more inhibits the illumination as one singlemindedly proceeds along this path, this will also render thoughts motionless. If thoughts are thereby rendered motionless, then the illumination will also extend to the Life Force, and it will be lively and agile and in turn take hold of the Heart, which will now act without inhibition or restriction. Then freely and without hindrance, the Heart will dictate the appropriate form. When the Heart obeys its feelings and its reactions are quick, it is like the moonbeams which appear immediately when a door is opened, the tone that arises as soon as an object is struck.

'The ability to react is proven in battle. If one's self is free from thoughts, then the form offers no point of attack. If it does offer a point of attack, then it is the result of thoughts which manifest in the form. If the form allows no point of attack, then there is nothing that could counter it. This is called "having neither a self nor an opponent". If there is a self, then there is also an opponent. Since there is no self, then it is as though the good and evil, the right and wrong of him who is encountered were reflected in a mirror down to his most minute thought. It is not reflected in one's self, it is simply a counter-reflection of whatever comes. It is as with a man of utmost virtue of whom wrong cannot lay hold. Herein lies the marvel of naturalness. The desire to reflect another from one's self is a thought. And because this thought hinders the self, the Life Force is also inhibited and its reactions are not free. A person who does not contemplate the wondrous dictate of aimlessness, or does not consciously behave according to it, resembles a god in his movements. He is called a person who has comprehended and penetrated the art of swordsmanship.

'Unfortunately, we Tengu have long noses, beaks, and wings. And since that hinders us in attaining enlightenment in the other arts, and because we do not succeed in freeing the reactions of our Hearts, we have from the very beginning set our wills exclusively upon this one path. This is the area in which we educate our Hearts and discipline our Life Force. Yet we disregard the fact that other things also hold great meaning for us, and even though we may see or hear them, we overlook them with our eyes open wide. Nor do we attach much significance to them! Thus, we are certainly highly skilled in this single art and have attained enlightenment in it, yet by greater standards we are of no use for anything else. Our enlightenment is only partial. It is as if a lamp were set in a box and only one side opened. On the open side it is bright, but no light appears on the other sides. That weak light which falls elsewhere is only indirect light. So it is with us, and therefore we do not succeed in comprehending the totality. At first one merely perceives a small opening. If by using one's power one enlarges the opening, then after a time, and through the power of training, the opening will grow large and the illuminated area will also become large. If one were to train with earth and heaven and all things of this world as one does with a sword, and were to destroy this box,



A sword master being instructed by a Tengu
From an historical illustrated manuscript of the
Yagyū-Shinkage-ryū

then the whole wide world would be filled with light, and the reactions of the Heart would be unhindered and free. Then, even if such powerful opponents as wealth, nobility, poverty, low birth, misfortune and need, trouble and pain, were to close in upon us from every direction, our thoughts would not be moved even in the slightest, and opponents would be repulsed as flies by a fan. They would all lie prostrate before us, and none would be able to raise their heads again. When we reach that point, then our noses will shrink as well, and even without wings we will possess the freedom of flight.

'Because a man who has mastered one single art acts continually from his Heart, he already has caught a glimmer of the Principle (of the Way). Yet because his will is primarily directed towards this art of his, he remains trapped in it, and it is not possible for him to enter upon the Way. Even though he may at times love scholarship too, since he has made the art the master, and demoted the doctrine of the Way to the vassal, he will be incapable of relating to greater contexts anything which he hears about the art's profound Principle, which he has made servant to the art. How can it then benefit his Heart? Only when a person who practises an art comprehends this, will the art which he practises day after day benefit his Heart and reveal to him the secret of his true being. In this way he will also achieve freedom in his art.

'It is difficult, however, to rid oneself of any particular thought to which one has clung from the very beginning. If through scholarship and art together he at least frees his Heart from the prison fashioned by selfishness (*shishin*), then nothing in the entire world will be able to set his self in motion, he will react unhindered and freely. A Heart imprisoned by itself need not always be directed towards such things as gold and silver, money and possessions, love and desires, tricks and illusions, nor need it be evil. If only a single thought even slightly takes hold somewhere, then the Heart is trapped by itself. If the thought takes only a slight hold, then the Heart too is only slightly hindered, but if it takes hold strongly, then the Heart is severely hindered. Someone who has succeeded in mastering an art knows very well that a Heart ensnared by itself is detrimental to the practice of his art, but he does not attempt to relate this in more general terms to the reactions of his Heart. Even in exercising the Heart it is so: to be sure, the Principle is

easily and quickly recognized, yet if even a single thought casts shadows one cannot actually practise it. It is one's self that exercises the Heart, and it is likewise one's self that practises the art. Yet it is not true that there exist two Hearts. One must never forget that!

'Now there are many who are mature in the art, whose Life Force is harmonious, who know from experience what is of profit to them in battle, who no longer have doubts or make mistakes, whose spirit is peaceful and who have attained liberation. Although their wondrous actions are, so to speak, divine in nature, they have not yet thrown off every support. In this they resemble the boatman who runs along the gunwale, or the roofer who climbs the tower and lays his tiles. Such people are called experienced weapons artists.'

One asked: 'What must one do then to advance one's study of the Way through the practice of an art?'

He answered: 'The Heart is nothing but natural potential (*sei*) and emotion (*jō*). The natural potential is the Divine Principle of the Heart, it is still and motionless and possesses neither colour nor form. It only becomes wrong or right, good or evil through the movement of the emotions. Through the fluctuations of one's feelings, one acquires insight into the wondrous dominion of the Heart, one understands the distinction between the Divine Principle and human desires. This is called knowledge. Now what sort of a thing is the knowledge of this matter? Knowledge is what we call divine illumination, infallible and unassailable because it has been endowed with an inborn, secret awareness. It is not the cleverness of imperfect knowledge. The cleverness of imperfect knowledge arises from the realm of the consciousness. Consciousness is the perceptions of the Heart. Although in its original nature consciousness also possessed divine illumination, it is influenced by good or evil feelings, and this is the form in which it becomes manifest, and therefore the consciousness also exhibits right and wrong, good and evil. By assuming appearance in this way, it reinforces good and evil feelings and thereby gives rise to a cleverness which is trapped in one's self. This is called imperfect knowledge.

'Inborn, divinely clear knowledge is independent of good and evil feelings. It is pure and pristine. Where its Principle shines

there is no entrapment by one's self. Therefore, it is neither good nor evil, only pure. If the consciousness follows this path and no longer submits to the deceits of self-entrapment, then it will successfully restrain the emotions and will not be ensnared by them, and it will take care that they obey the Divine Laws of the Heart. And if the emotions follow the Heart, and if the Heart no longer clings to goodness and evil and is free from the stirrings of fear, then the consciousness will attain harmony with divine illumination, and knowledge will begin functioning. When that stage has been reached, then no trace of the consciousness will be found. We call that no-consciousness (*mu'i*).

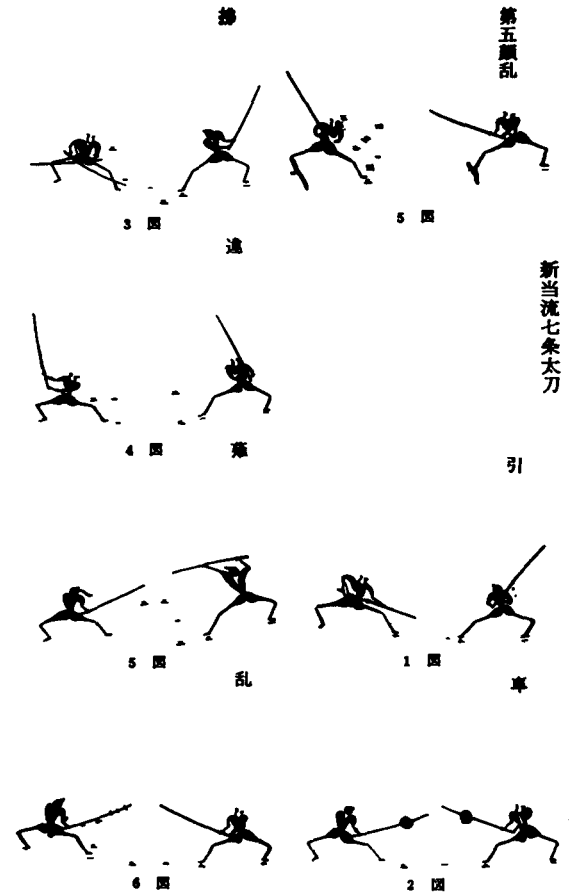
'Yet when it encourages feelings and desires and thereby resorts to tricks and deception and does not maintain its totality in its various transformations, then the self shackles the Heart and obstructs the Heart's illumination. That is called an Errant Heart (*mōjin*). Since most people have made feelings and passions master of the Heart, they are held in perpetual motion by this Errant Heart and do not know what so plagues their spirit.

'Knowledge sweeps aside the mistakes of the Errant Heart, the Heart's Divine Principle is acknowledged and its light allowed to break through. By following his Divine Laws, a person no longer resorts to the deceptions of imperfect knowledge, he allows things to be things and no longer permits himself to be held fast by them. He immediately yields to events as they occur, has no desires, and does not hate. Thus, he can contemplate peacefully through the entire day. Since he is not trapped in the self, he causes the Heart no adversities. Although he labours the entire day in his activities, his spirit is not plagued. He entrusts himself to fate and doubts or mistakes no longer exist as to what is right. The Heart is full of what is right and the will is infallible. He does not resort to tricks or deceptions in order to avoid harm, nor is he satisfied with imperfect knowledge only to gain profit. In life he submits to life and fulfils its Way, and in death he submits to death and does not worry about what is to come. Although heaven and earth may change and move, it will not deflect this Heart and though all the things of this world may overlay it, that will not confuse this Heart. His thinking is not rigid, nor his action dependent. To know the Heart and care for the Life Force, to stand completely fast and not to bow, to neglect nothing, to be

completely still without conflict or submission – if the will is so disciplined right from the beginning of study, then even idle chatter will become a means for exercising the Heart.

'In principle there is neither great nor small; not even the secret of swordsmanship is an exception. Access to that art is gained through practice, and once a person has gained access to an art, this will help and benefit and be of great advantage to him in recognizing his Heart in his daily activities. Through the insipid one attains the profound, from the base the lofty – since ancient times that has been the method of advancing the study of the Way through an art, by practising the latter and gaining the former. When a person is over fifty, hands and feet no longer obey correctly, or if a person is sick or his profession does not allow him the free time, then he cannot devote himself to the technique (of swordsmanship). If a person's a warrior by profession but he does not practise it from the Heart, then he will not be content in it. Yet even when hands and feet no longer obey or the mind is too preoccupied – if a person desires to work towards unifying the Heart, then, as already explained, he concentrates his will and disciplines the immutability of the Heart. When the Principle of the totality of life and death is thereby revealed, and all things of this world are no longer a hindrance, then even though a person may be chained to his bed or be a fireman by profession – he must continue to exercise the Heart by means of the Heart's contemplations and the perceptions of the eyes and ears as he would practise with a sword.

'But if a person has the time, he goes to a Master of the art and disciplines himself in the technique of the art, and learns its Principle. Then if he faces an opponent, he fences as best he is able and looks death cheerfully in the eye. What could then trouble that person? A warrior must only take care that his will remains unbroken. By appearance there are certainly old and young persons, strong and weak persons, the sick and the preoccupied, but that is all the work of heaven and not something that a person could achieve or influence through his own power. If one only possesses a resolute will, not even the gods and demons of heaven and earth can take it away. One therefore accords to heaven the concerns of external circumstances, but as regards one's self, one carries through one's own will. The ordinary man worries about heaven's deeds, but is negligent



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Fencing positions
From an historical manuscript of the Shintō-ryū

about his own. We cannot measure the deeds of heaven with our intellect. He is a fool who worries about the insufficiency of his intellect and thereby plagues his spirit!'

One asked: 'I have many sons, yet they are still young. How could they practise the art of swordsmanship?'

He spoke: 'In ancient times they had to irrigate and sweep, answer and respond.[59] Then they practised the Six Arts, and after that they began advanced training in which they proved their Hearts. Even the sages of the K'ung Tzu school were all Masters of the Six Arts, and many of them had learned the teachings of the Way. Someone who is still young in years and does not possess the power to penetrate to the Principle of the matter does not place his imperfect knowledge in the foreground. Instead, he obeys the words of the Master and, what is his proper and suitable activity, he concerns himself with technique, trains in hand- and footwork, strengthens his physique, and, in addition, disciplines his Life Force and educates his Heart, and thereby penetrates its secret. It must be so. That is the order in which one's practice must proceed. A person does not use a young tree with two leaves as a support, rather he must give the tree some support and take care that it does not bend! One must from one's earliest youth keep the will from leaning towards what is wrong. If the will does not lean towards what is wrong, one will not act wrongly, not even while playing. If the Heart is not wrong, one will not inflict harm upon that which is right. Rare are men who perform their duty between heaven and earth. Since men inflict harm through wrongness, they violate their nature and do not perform their duty.

'Man's Heart is not originally evil, it is only that from the beginning of his life man continually uses wrongness to serve his development. By doing so its odour permeates him without his knowledge, he inflicts harm upon his nature and is ensnared by evil. The roots of evil are human passions. Since the ordinary man only directs his Heart towards that which profits him, he does not notice if that which profits him is wrong, and he does not notice if that which does not profit him is right. He does not even know how to distinguish between right and wrong; how then should he recognize what derives from them? Therefore, knowledge suppresses the arbitrary movement of man's drives,

one recognizes by means of this knowledge the wondrous dominion of the Divine Principle in the human Heart, examines what derives from right and wrong, drives away the wrongness of his Errant Heart and inflicts no harm upon his inborn, original being, nothing more than that. It is neither ascendance to heaven nor descendance into the earth. If wrongness is only slightly avoided, the Divine Principle will appear only partially, if it is avoided to a great extent, the Principle will be greatly apparent. One must examine this in one's own Heart. It is exactly the same in swordsmanship. From the beginning of his study, a person does not contemplate various thoughts, rather he behaves spontaneously and acquires technique naturally, and he prevails over harshness with gentleness. Yet if a person declares technique unnecessary, foolish, and inane, and his Life Force becomes sluggish, then he does not understand the foundations, and, therefore, will not attain his goals in this or in later life.'

III

One asked: 'What does it mean "to be motionless in motion and in stillness not still"?'

He answered: 'Man is a creature of movement. It is impossible for him not to move. Yet a man who possesses these characteristics may, to be sure, be very busy with his day-to-day activities. In spite of this, he does not allow his Heart to be set in motion by things; his Heart is balanced and still, free from desires and not held captive by his self. In terms of swordsmanship this means: If a man is confronted by a superior enemy force, even though he may dispense his cuts to the right and to the left, his spirit will remain completely still in respect to life and death and his thoughts unmoved by the superior enemy's power. This is called "motionless in motion". Have you never seen someone ride a horse? Although the horse may gallop to the east or the west, the Heart of the good horseman remains still and balanced, the rider appears still and motionless. To the observer, horse and rider seem to be made from a single mould. Since the rider merely guides the horse's moods, he does not violate the nature of the horse. Although the horseman in the saddle is lord over the horse, the horse behaves in harmony with him. Without

being forced it runs of its own accord. The horse forgets the rider and the rider forgets the horse; they form a spiritual unity and are no longer two distinct entities. One could say of this situation that there is "no rider in the saddle and no horse under the saddle". That is a comprehensible and easily perceived image for motionless motion. A rider who is not mature in his art will violate the nature of the horse, and, therefore, his self will not attain stillness. Since the horse and the self are continually separate and in conflict with one another, the head and limbs of the rider toss about with the horse's gait, and his Heart is disturbed. The horse also toils hard and tires.

'In a book about horses, there is the following poem composed by a horse:

At first he whips me,
But should I care to go,
He restrains me
And holds fast to the reins
So that I cannot take a step.

In this poem the author has placed himself in the position of the horse and given expression to the horse's feelings. Yet what is said here is not limited to dealings with horses. A person must also have a (balanced) Heart such as this in his relations with men! If a person violates the nature of things in general and grants priority to his own limited awareness, then his self is constantly disturbed, and this is distressing even to other men.

'Now what is the meaning of "being not still in stillness"?' When a person feels neither happiness nor anger, neither sadness nor joy, then his Heart is completely empty and troubled by absolutely nothing; it adapts to things out of this state of complete stillness and lack of desire, and masters the things – in this state nothing limits its function. To be still and motionless: therein lies the Heart's identity. Its function lies in its being in motion and in its doing justice to things. Its essence lies in its stillness, its claim to the Principle of things, and its clarity. Its function lies in its movement, its obeying the Laws of heaven, and in its doing justice to all phenomena of this world. Essence and function have one source. Hence, that is what is meant to be conveyed by the phrase "motionless in motion and in stillness not still". In terms of swordsmanship this means: A person confronts the enemy with his sword or

spear in hand. If in this act he is impartial, without hate or fear, without thinking "should I do this or rather that?" and from this frame of mind adjusts to the approaching opponent, then that person's reactions will be unhindered and free.

'Although the form moves, the Heart does not lose its essence, which is stillness, and although the person is still, the Heart's function, which is movement, is not interfered with. That person is like a mirror, for he is still and without cloudiness and as he is exposed to the phenomena of this world he reflects them in himself as they confront him and returns their reflection. Yet when they have passed by him he does not hold on to their image. It is exactly like the image of the moon in the water. The clarity of the Heart is of this nature. In times of motion the ordinary man is swept away by the motion, and thereby loses himself, and in times of stillness he becomes sluggish and empty and does not do justice to his function.'

'What meaning has the image of the moon in the water?' He replied: 'Although the various schools interpret it differently, it is basically the comparison of spontaneous natural reactions with the reflection of the moon in the water. There is a poem by the former emperor about the Pond of Hirosawa that reads:

> The moon casts its reflection unwittingly
> Upon waters which have no desire to hold it
> In the Pond of Hirosawa.[60]

'One can understand from the meaning of this imperial poem what it is to react spontaneously and naturally. It is exactly the same with the full moon. It is a single sphere in the heavens, yet each and every body of water has a moon in it. The moon does not divide up its light and lend it to the bodies of water. If there is no water, there is also no reflection. And yet it is also not true that the moon only acquires the ability to be reflected with the water's presence. For the moon there is no gain or loss whether it is reflected in all water simultaneously or in none at all. Nor does it care about the size of the body of water. One can comprehend here the wondrous action of the Heart. In this image the clarity or cloudiness of the water is not relevant. The essential thing, however, is that the moon possesses form and colour, while the Heart does not. One resorts to the moon, which does possess form and colour and is

easily recognized, and uses it as an image for something which does not possess form and colour. Of course that is true of all images. In the search for meaning, however, one should not take examples literally!'

One asked: 'In many schools there is the concept of *zanshin*. I do not understand it. What is the meaning of this *zanshin*?'

He answered: 'It means nothing more than having a tranquil Heart and no longer allowing oneself to be overpowered by things. If the Heart is tranquil, then reactions are clear. It is no different in daily life. Even if, as people say, the self were to plunge with a single bound to the depths of hell, it remains the original self. The person remains unhindered and free to the front and rear, to the right and left. He is involved wholeheartedly and does not hesitate. But should the Heart hesitate, thoughts will scatter as well. It simply means that the Heart is not clear and that the person's actions do not spring from the whole Heart. He therefore thrusts and cuts away blindly. Clarity, however, grows from the motionlessness of the Heart and only then do the cuts and thrusts fly well-aimed towards a goal.

'All of these things are difficult to formulate in words. Yet it is highly dangerous for them to be incorrectly understood.

'In many schools there is the concept of *sen*. This is also a word conceived to aid the beginner in developing an active Life Force and avoiding a sluggish Life Force. If a person's Heart is motionless he will never lose control of himself. Whenever a vigorous Life Force fills the body, the person leaves his self behind. This does not mean that in fencing a person sets his heart on victory. The basic concern in swordsmanship is simply to develop a lively Life Force and eradicate a dormant Life Force. Even such set phrases as "wait during attack and attack while waiting" paraphrase natural reactions; a name has simply been given to the phenomenon in passing for the benefit of the beginner. That is also the reason for saying "no motion while moving and no stillness while being still". If one does not discuss with the beginner the reactions of the Life Force and its rigidity or flexibility, then he has nothing to hold on to. Therefore, each of these things has been given a name to teach them. Yet if a person gives a name to something and then holds fast to that name, he will miss the real meaning. But if no name is given then he floats about in empty space and does not attain

awareness. He who has not grasped the real meaning of the objects represented by the words "rabbit" or "horn" will not understand those things simply on the merit of the words. This is true of all things. He who is capable of comprehending the true meaning understands immediately what he sees and hears.

'As we discussed earlier, the movement and stillness of the entire body are a consequence of the Life Force. Accordingly, the Heart is the soul (the non-material, spiritual part) of the Life Force. The Life Force consists of the clearness and cloudiness of the yin and yang. That which is clear in the Life Force is lively and brings about its buoyancy; that which is clouded in it is inhibited and brings about its heaviness. Form corresponds to the Life Force. For this reason, it is important in swordsmanship to educate the Life Force. If the Life Force is lively, one reacts easily, is quick. But if it is clouded, one hesitates and reacts sluggishly. Although strength and health are, therefore, highly valued in the Life Force, if it uses only a part of its strength and is not balanced, it will become unsteady, and its function will not be realized. The actions of him who relies upon it will be meaningless and ineffective. Yet, although balance is extremely important in the function (of the Life Force), if strength and health do not abide in it, then that balance will be destroyed and strength transformed into weakness. Weakness and suppleness are two different things. Suppleness denotes a lively Life Force and is effective. Weakness merely denotes a lack of strength and is ineffective. There is also a difference between tranquillity and indolence. Tranquillity is not inconsistent with a lively Life Force, but indolence is nearly the same as a dead Life Force. If a person is rigid, it is a result of the Life Force and cannot be separated from it. There is a rigidity which arises from the thinking process and there is the case in which the yin-Life Force itself is rigid. Now since both types extend into the domain of the Life Force, they inhibit quick reactions. A rigid Life Force, therefore, means slow reactions. If a person is quick in his technical reactions and his Life Force is ready, then he is permeated with the yang and unanchored, light and dry. He is like a brittle leaf blown by the wind. He who is damp and inhibited is weighted down by the natural heaviness of a clouded Life Force and is slow in his reactions. The Life Force of a person who has become inflexible is unevenly distributed, it has assumed the form of heavy chains,

it has come to a standstill and does not move. For this reason it reacts extraordinarily slowly. It is like water which has frozen and does not melt. Here, as well, there is a rigidity which develops out of the thinking process and one which develops out of the Life Force itself. Yet that which is called thinking is the Life Force. What is known is called thought; what is unknown is called Life Force. That will be understood if it is recognized within oneself.

'He will be unhindered in his reactions in whom rigidity and suppleness flow into one another without force. This is not only true in the art of swordsmanship, it applies to scholarship as well. When a person has reached the stage at which the rigidity and suppleness of the Life Force flow into one another without force, then he will comprehend the wondrous rule of the Heart, which is without a trace and cannot be fashioned in words. Then, if a person practises the art of swordsmanship through his Life Force he will recognize what the Heart illuminates. If one practises scholarship through the Heart, then one recognizes the transformations and wondrous rule of the Life Force. However, if one understands their Principle only in theory and has never experienced them physically through practice, then Life Force and Heart remain mere rumour and do not become realities. The awareness of the Heart of an adherent of swordsmanship, who has disciplined his Life Force only in so far as it affects his reactions in swordplay, will remain restricted to that single area. This person is unable to realize the potential which this awareness has for universal validity. Heart and Life Force are basically one. When a person has grasped this essential meaning and affirmed it for himself then it will benefit him even though he has not achieved technical mastery, because in doing so he has at least done justice to one side of the matter.

'In the attainment of the ultimate secrets, the various schools have a single goal. Yet in their educational theories they adhere to the instructional guidelines of their founders and lead out of the door through which I believe one must enter. Consequently, they grow enamoured of the landscape along their paths, and many stay there and consider it right. Thus, one sees them making a great uproar over the most insignificant educational theories and arguing among themselves over what is right and what is wrong. Yet, there can be no argument over

whether the essential matters of swordsmanship are right or wrong. The landscapes along the way are merely appearances fashioned within the framework of the consciousness. Originally there are neither two nor three of them. Only when distinctions are made do there arise the qualities of good and evil, wrong and right, rigid and supple, long and short. Such details could be discussed without end. The idea that "no one else knows what I know" is foolish. What is clear to me is clear to other men as well. How could I have a singular knowledge and the rest of the world be ignorant? Therefore, it is superfluous to hide anything. It is exactly the same in scholarship. Lao Tzu, Buddha, Chuang Tzu, Lieh Tzu, Ch'ao Fu,[61] and Hsü Yu[62] are all agreed in their concept of a Heart that is no longer ensnared by the self and is free of desires. Therefore, they do not entangle the Heart in the most insignificant and selfish thoughts. Only the landscapes which they have seen along the path are different. And for this reason alone did a schism occur and different schools arise. The way of the Holy One has the heavens above it and the earth below it and omits neither mountain nor stream nor plain. Even the different intellects of man and woman are a part of it, and that is something one must know and be aware of in one's actions! There is no man on earth who does not possess humanity and justice, none who does not possess filial piety, brotherly love, loyalty, and credibility. Although he may be a disciple of the Buddha from India, he enjoys the blessings of the Holy One and bathes in humanity and justice – one cannot say otherwise! This realization, however, is difficult to attain by way of the landscapes of the various schools The Holy One had seen the heights of the Great Source from which heaven and earth and all things of this world derive. The adherents of the various schools have merely established splinter groups of the Doctrine of the Holy One; they cannot ever resist the one Great Way!'

One asked: 'Clearness and cloudiness make up yin and yang. Why use only the clearness and avoid the cloudiness?'

He answered: 'Cloudiness is used as well. Yet in swordsmanship, quick reactions are valued most highly. These are not possible without yin and yang, but a person uses only that part which is clear and not the heaviness of that part which is cloudy. Fire and not water is used to dry something that is wet;

that depends upon the function of each of the two elements. In the same way, the cleverness or foolishness of the Heart springs from the clearness or cloudiness of the Life Force. That part of the Life Force which is clouded hinders the inborn intellect, i.e. the inborn, natural cleverness. In its original state the Heart is empty and bright and not dark. It is only because a clouded Life Force overshadows the clarity of the Heart that the Heart exhibits foolishness, stupidity and dull-wittedness. To be foolish is to grope about in darkness and not comprehend the Principle. To be dull-witted is to be inhibited and slow. A clouded Life Force is very heavy, a person is held fast in its sediment, thoughts remain stuck in it and err in its darkness, the person cannot free himself from that which sets him in motion. He is capable neither of self-determination nor of following other men, he is constantly anxious and never attains stillness – that is called being stupid. The character of an ordinary person exhibits a thousand inconsistencies and ten thousand contradictions, but they are all nothing more than the shallowness or depth, the strength or weakness of the clouded Life Force. The Heart is the soul of the Life Force. Where the Life Force is, this soul is as well; where no Life Force is, it is also lacking.

'This is the same relationship as exists between a man and the boat that he boards and sails across the water. If the wind is strong and the waves are high, then the boat follows the wind, is tossed about by the waves and does not know where it is going. The man sits in the boat and is full of anxiety. It is the same situation as when the clouded Life Force moves wildly, causing the Heart to find no rest. Only when the wind has stopped and the waves have calmed, does the passenger regain his peace. The wild motion of the clouded Life Force alone wears down man's Heart and endangers his body. Its origin is the wild storm that blows up from the caverns of desire. Desires are also an aspect of the clouded Life Force. If a person suffers from oversensitivity and is possessed by strong passions, then it is because the yin-Life Force has become rigid and gained dominance. If a person's Heart is confused and does not find the way to itself, then the stability that comes from the yang-Life Force is lacking. The Life Force of the fearful person is meagre and does not fill the body, and the Life Force of him who is undecided in his Heart is weak and has not attained peace.

That, too, resembles stupidity. These are all illnesses of a clouded Life Force.

'Yet in him who is intelligent and honest, yin and yang are harmonious and without deficiencies or error. In him who is intelligent but does not behave honestly, the Life Force of the pure yang has the upper hand, but his yin qualities are weak. In him who behaves honestly but is not intelligent, the yin qualities have the upper hand, but the Life Force of the pure yang is weak. One could discuss without end the yang in the yin and the yin in the yang, their abundance and deficiency or shallowness and depth, inner strength and weakness, and the thousand contradictions and ten thousand discrepancies. If one continues to categorize and scrutinize details, one will find nothing in this world which does not manifest the effect of the clearness or cloudiness of the yin and yang. From the greatness of heaven and earth to the smallest things like fleas and lice, you find that if all things are not filled with a Life Force of balanced yin and yang, then they cannot properly perform the function which their form dictates. I have only provided a brief sketch here.'

'What is the method by which a person can exercise this Life Force?' He replied: 'A person must only avoid the cloudiness in it. Because of the dynamic changes that it undergoes, the Life Force in which yin and yang are balanced is the source of heaven and earth and all things. The cloudiness is the sediment of the yin-Life Force. This sediment lies fast and does not live. It moves only with the help of the yang. Accordingly, the actions of the yang become heavy and slow. It is the same as when mud is thrown into clear water, suddenly making it cloudy. Once the water has become cloudy, nothing can be cleaned in it. On the contrary, if this cloudy water is poured over an object, the object is soiled. Thus knowledge means nothing more than avoiding the cloudiness of the Life Force by means of its clearness. If the cloudiness of the Life Force is avoided, then the Life Force will come to life, the singularity of the Heart will become apparent, and even an Errant Heart will again become the original Heart, which does not mean, however, that these are two different Hearts.

'Although the yin and the yang were originally a single Life Force, as soon as they separated from one another, their actions brought forth the diversities of the thousand

discrepancies and ten thousand contradictions. To be sure, if a person recognizes the diversity of their effects but does not know that the yin and the yang had one source, then the Way is not yet clear to him. Likewise, if a person knows that they had one source but does not know that their effects are different, then he cannot yet practise the Way. Each person must examine this in his own Heart and truly exert himself; it cannot be thoroughly assimilated merely by talking about it! And it is only because the Tengu here atop the trees have not seen this in their Hearts and understood it, that I discuss it in terms of examples from the world of reality.

'The life of the Heart in the Life Force is like a fish swimming in the water. The fish is as free as the water is deep. If large fish do not have depth, they cannot swim about. And if the water dries up, then the fish become desperate; if the water disappears, then they die. The Heart is as free as the Life Force is strong and healthy. If the Life Force is insufficient, then the Heart atrophies, and if the Life Force is exhausted, the Heart retreats into a void. Thus, fish are terrified when the water begins to move, and the Heart becomes anxious if the Life Force begins to move.

'Not only in battle, but in all things, one can submit to either heaven or fate. In swordsmanship, one's unceasing concern is the Principle of victory and defeat, and in the world of man, a person holds fast to the natural, customary obligations and does not employ selfish tricks. He is independent in action and in thought does not cling to the imagination. This is called "submitting to Heaven". To fulfil one's human obligations is to submit to heaven. It is similar to the efforts of the farmer in tilling his land: He ploughs and sows and hoes and thereby fulfils the Way upon which he has entered. But he submits to Heaven in things which human power cannot influence, such as flood and drought and storm. However, should a person put his faith in heaven without having first fulfilled his human obligations, then he is not following the Divine Way. Simply to wait for the natural course of things is to submit to fate. Yet one may say to a person who temporarily errs and is undecided, "Resign yourself to fate!"'

One asked: 'The Heart has neither form nor colour, neither sound nor scent, its wondrous rule is divine and incompre-

hensible. How, then, can a person exercise the Heart?'

He answered in this manner: 'A person cannot reach the Heart through words. All that he can do is regulate an excess or insufficiency in the movement of the seven emotions[63] or in the conscious awareness of his reactions, avoid the confused movement of selfish thoughts and bring himself to obey the Divine Laws of his own nature. How a person manages to do these things depends on the realizations of his intuitive knowledge (*ryōchi no hakken*). Now what is meant by intuitive knowledge? When the light of the Heart illuminates justice and injustice, right and wrong, and wondrously permeates heaven and earth and the gods, this is called knowledge (*chi*). The ordinary person's awareness is inhibited by the confused movement of a clouded Life Force, therefore his enlightenment is only partial. That which he might discover through a narrow slit of the smallest order is called intuitive knowledge (*ryōchi*). To know about justice with the whole soul, to recognize injustice, to be aware of the sincerity of others, and to feel uncomfortable when one has done evil oneself – that is it! When the emotions move, then a sensitive and sympathetic Heart will develop. When a person loves his parents and cares for his children and is kind to his siblings, and cannot be otherwise, that is called having a conscience. If one trusts in one's intuitive knowledge and follows it, and if one fosters one's conscience and does not bring harm to it through selfish thoughts, then the confused movement of a clouded Life Force can calm itself of its own accord and nothing will appear except the clarity of the Divine Principle. Selfish thoughts arise from a Heart which strives only for advantages. If this striving for advantages becomes a person's main concern, then he no longer notices whether it brings harm to other people. In the end, it will come to the point that he commits disgraceful deeds, pursues a life of vice and brings ruin upon himself. To discipline the Heart and to discipline the Life Force are not two different things. Therefore, in his discourse on the care of a dynamic and strong Life Force, Meng Tzu said that a person need not follow any particular course in nurturing the Life Force as long as he has the firm will to do so.'[64]

One asked: 'How is it that the Buddhists denounce the consciousness as something evil?'

He answered: 'I am not familiar with the practices of the Buddhist Doctrine. The consciousness is basically a function of knowledge (*chi*) and cannot be labelled as bad.

'It is only bad if it supports the passions, withdraws from its original context, and becomes a person's main concern. Consciousness is like the common soldier: If the commander is not in charge of the situation, if he is incompetent and weak and possesses no authority, then the soldiers do not carry out his orders, but instead put themselves first, follow their own plans, work at their own discretion, and thereby destroy the harmony of the camp. Due to their lack of discipline, the order of the battle becomes confused, and in the end follows the disaster of their defeat. When the situation has reached this point, it is no longer possible for the commander to intervene. Since ancient times the saying has been true that no one can bring back under control an army which has risen against its commander. If the consciousness makes itself the main concern, if it supports feelings and desires and moves in a confused way, then even though a person knows that this is not right, he will find it difficult to bring his consciousness under control. Yet that does not mean that the consciousness itself is to blame. If the commander is clever and valiant and his orders and decisions are clear, then the soldiers obey the orders of the commander and do not act at their own discretion. They carry out his directives and decisively defeat the enemy, the order of battle remains closed, and the enemy cannot defeat it. And since he thereby properly channels the efforts of the soldiers, the commander wins great merit. Similarly, the consciousness follows the light of the Heart, the intellect obeys the Divine Laws of its own nature. And since consciousness is not so selfish as to make itself the central concern, it allows knowledge to operate, and it lends assistance to the government of the State. Why, then, should the consciousness be denounced as evil? When the Holy One says, "Have no consciousness!"[65] he means this: if consciousness does not make itself the central concern, the intellect fully obeys the Divine Laws of its own nature and shows no sign of consciousness. And therefore he says, "Have no consciousness!"'

One asked: 'Has there also been a tradition of the art of swordsmanship in China since ancient times?'

To that he said: 'Until now I have not seen any of their writings. Yet it is evident that in olden times, in Japan as well as in China, there was considerable value placed upon the strength and buoyancy of the Life Force, that no notice was taken of life and death, and that people fought one another as hard as they could. It is apparent everywhere in the writings of Chuang Tzu, in the chapter entitled "Joy of Fencing" ("*Yueh Chien*") and elsewhere.[66] There is actually a discourse on the breeding of a fighting cock in the chapter entitled "*T'a Sheng*". What is said there corresponds completely to the essence of swordsmanship.[67] But Chuang Tzu did not mention the art of swordsmanship specifically. He simply wrote about the mastery of disciplining the Life Force. In principle, that is the same thing. The words of an enlightened man have validity for all things of this world. For the person who concentrates on them, all things become scholarship or swordsmanship. If one looks at Japanese writings on the ancient art of the sword, one will see that there are no discourses on the higher values of the art. It is clear that a person practised the art of acting freely and quickly. In these writings, the Tengu are often depicted as guardians of the art. If you think about it, swordsmen all shared an inborn dauntlessness, and there was nothing to be said about it. It seems that they simply practised their art and disciplined their Life Force, and thereby nurtured their inborn dauntlessness. For this reason there was nothing to discuss. Although our generation has become very learned and now discusses the Principle of the secret of swordsmanship from the very beginning of studies, we have only been entrusted with it by the ancients, in reality we have not even come close to the ancients. And it is no different with scholarship!'

One asked: 'The art of swordsmanship is the wondrous rule of the Heart. But why is it treated so secretively?'

He replied: 'The Principle is the Principle of heaven and earth. Then why should there be no one under heaven who knows what I know? If it is treated with secrecy, then it is done only for the sake of the beginner. If it is not treated with secrecy, then the beginner has no trust in it. It is simply a pedagogic trick. Therefore, any secrecy is inessential, is not the heart of the matter. The beginner has no ability to discriminate; he accepts blindly, understands incorrectly, and naturally considers what

he understands to be truth. If he passes it on to others in this form, then this too is dangerous. Therefore, it seems, he is taught only those things that he can understand. If a person has penetrated to the heart of the matter, then he shares it with the beginner in detail and hides nothing even if he should belong to another school. To handle things with secrecy is often a strategic trick. To teach an inexperienced person by keeping some things secret from him may also be the art of helping him achieve the bold state of mind so that he may one day be victorious. It is not desirable to have an outsider observe this, misunderstand its meaning, consider it imperfect, and wildly criticize it. For that reason, too, there must be secrecy! It should not be denounced blindly! Although in all things there is no more secrecy as regards the right Way, it could be disadvantageous if a person were to divulge something. Thus, each thing, according to its individual nature, may also have its secrets. In principle there is no difference between the affairs of swordsmanship and worldly things. In the affairs of swordsmanship a person is concerned with his Heart and learns to discriminate precisely between what is right and wrong, true and false about it. He then practises this in daily life, and if he is fortunate enough to reach the stage where what is wrong can no longer defeat what is right, then that alone can be a great gain!

'It is essential that the Heart be clear and unhindered. It is essential that the Life Force be strong and constant. Heart and Life Force are basically one. To make it clearer: they are like flame and kindling. The flame does not decide whether it will be large or small. If, however, there is not sufficient firewood then the flame will not possess great strength. If the wood is damp, the flame will not burn brightly. All the functions of the human body are called forth by the Life Force. Therefore, a person whose Life Force is strong will not become ill, wind and cold, heat and dampness will be nothing to him. A person whose Life Force is weak, however, is susceptible and receptive to evil influences. If the Life Force is sick, the Heart suffers pain and the body is sickly. A medical work says, "The hundred illnesses all spring from the Life Force". He who does not know about the changes which the Life Force undergoes also does not know the origin of illnesses. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that a person develop a strong and lively Life Force.

'There is a Way for developing a strong and lively Life Force. If the Heart is not clear, the Life Force will stray from the Way and begin to move erratically. If the movement of the Life Force is confused, it will lose its dominance over strength and decisiveness and, through imperfect knowledge, block the light of the Heart. And if the Heart is dark and the Life Force moves erratically, then, though the Life Force of his blood may be lively, a person's actions will nevertheless not be free. The Life Force of the blood is short-lived and without roots, and the results of its motion are ineffectual. All of these things can be examined and recognized in swordsmanship. Therefore, the beginner must first fulfil his human obligations, such as filial piety and brotherly love, and free himself from human desires. If human desires no longer move arbitrarily, then the Life Force is collected and unhindered. It is strong and decisive and effectively sustains the light of the Heart. If the Life Force is not strong, then the person is indecisive about things. He takes refuge from this indecisiveness in imperfect knowledge and obscures the illumination of the Heart. That is called: "going astray".

'It is exactly the same in swordsmanship. Its essence consists of calmness of spirit and harmony of the Life Force, the spontaneity of reactions, and the natural pursuit of technique. Yet he who does not develop a strong and lively Life Force at the very beginning, who does not sweep aside imperfect knowledge and exert his superiority over the opponent, and he who does not possess a temperament able to bring down a wall of iron, he will not succeed in attaining mastery and penetrating to the essence of spontaneous behaviour and naturalness. What he considers spontaneity is emptiness and what he considers balance is sluggishness. Yet, that is not true only of swordsmanship. Whether one practises the art of archery, horsemanship or any of the other arts that one desires, if one does not first have an unbending will and develop a strong and lively Life Force, then nothing will come of these efforts. In its pristine state, the Life Force is strong and lively and is the source of life. Only man neglects its care. And because he inflicts harm upon it through imperfect knowledge, it becomes unsettled and weak and does not fulfil its function.

'This is true of all things of this world. As I discussed earlier, the Life Force determines the functions of the entire body by

way of the Heart. That should be examined and seen in one's own body. If a person simply reads it or hears it from other people but does not prove it in his own body, then the Principle remains mere theory and does not become functional, for that is only possible through practice. This is an example of what is called: "the scholarship of obscure theory". In scholarship, in the arts, and in all things it is thus: if a person hears of their Principle, then examines all that he has heard in his own body and recognizes it in his Heart, only then does he attain the perfect knowledge of that which is right and wrong about things, that which is easy and what is difficult. That is called practice.'

IV

One asked: 'In the art of the spear there are traditional methods of handling the straight spear, the spear with a cross-shaped blade, the spear with a hook-shaped blade, the spear that is sheathed, and still others.[68] Which one of these is the most advantageous?'

He answered: 'What a stupid question! It is the spear with which one thrusts. But what helps a person attain freedom in thrusting is his own self and not the weapon. Now, whether a person uses a sickle, a spear whose shaft is hooked, or a sheathed spear – relying upon the experience of those who have preceded him, he takes care to utilize all of the advantages of every type, perfectly to master all the possible ways of handling each weapon, and thus to attain freedom in the use of each. Now, he who studies the theoretical principles of each type will, because he has practised with his specialized weapon from the very beginning, be able to handle this weapon to which he is accustomed to a greater advantage than any other weapon. Yet when he progresses and ultimately finds the way to himself, then even a cudgel becomes a spear in his hands. Although schools may henceforth assemble their students and teach them that in order to be victorious one must proceed in this fashion with a spear that has a cross-formed blade, and in that fashion with a straight spear or with a sheathed spear, and that one must handle a hooked-blade in this or that way – I, in any case, teach my students to do justice to another weapon. I explain to them nothing more than the benefits of the weapon

of their own self. For if they have not mastered that, then it is useless for them to wield the weapon of their particular school. It may be a great mistake for a person to consider only the weapon to be the essential thing and to think of nothing else but that the spear with a cross-shaped blade is something that is useless once it has pierced the opponent, and that the hooked-blade spear is something that will stop the shaft of a straight-blade spear! Despite that, however, a person must first and foremost master this knowledge. That is essential! If he misunderstands it, then he will fall victim to the mistakes of the beginner. But for those who no longer need to be initiated into the basics, I will briefly describe the art of collecting the Life Force. That is something that even children can understand![69]

'First, lie flat on your back and relax the shoulders, relax the chest and shoulders both right and left, extend the arms and legs comfortably, lay the hands on the free area beside the navel, relax completely and dispel all thoughts. Do not allow the Heart to be distracted by anything, release any tension in the Life Force, draw it down to yourself, let it fill the entire body down to the fingertips. Now count, as in the breath-counting meditation of the Zen monks, your inhaling breaths and exhaling breaths. At the start of this exercise the inhaling and exhaling will be vigorous. When, after a while, the breaths calm down, then the Life Force is enlivened and it will seem as if it could fill heaven and earth. There is no holding the breath, no exerting the Life Force. This exercise enlivens the Life Force by allowing it to fill one's inside. He who is suffering from tension at the time will surely feel pain in the area between the chest and the stomach, the seat of this illness. This pain is caused by the movement of a tense and rigid Life Force and arises from the latter's desire to establish harmony. The stomach will rumble. At this point one often becomes afraid of the sick feeling in the stomach and stops exercising. Then it is not possible to regain that state of relaxation and abundance of Life Force which existed at the beginning of the exercise, and one must gently apply pressure to and rub the stomach. Massaging too strongly will stimulate the undesirable moving Life Force and one will become less peaceful than ever. It is unusual for severe attacks to result.

'It is generally true that if one places one's hand for a long time upon any spot on the body, the Life Force will collect

at this spot. Therefore the hand is not usually laid upon a spot where the Life Force already is, but on a spot where it is not yet present. A person with illnesses centred in his back will most assuredly feel pain there. Then he must simply prevent his Life Force from congesting. The way to do this is to relax the chest and shoulders. When they have been relaxed by extending both shoulders away from one another, then the Life Force will flow freely. This is the art of using the body to help release tension from the Life Force. If the Life Force ceases to circulate, the Heart will also stop, and if the Heart is tensed, the Life Force is also tensed; Heart and Life Force are a unity. The primary purpose of this exercise is to break up congestion in the Life Force and, thereby, to balance out its inconsistencies.

'To give an example: it is like a person removing a swarm of ants that covers his entire body, cleansing the body, donning new clothes and relaxing in a beautiful spot. In Shintō there is what is called Inner Cleanliness and Outer Cleanliness. Inner Cleanliness means to cleanse the Heart and free it from the dirt of selfish thoughts and unbridled fantasies, to return to one's true state of desirelessness and selflessness, and to nurture one's original, inborn, heavenly nature. Outer Cleanliness means to keep the body clean, bring order to one's clothes and lodging, properly channel the Life Force, and to reinforce Inner Cleanliness by not allowing the undesirable Life Force of the Outside to invade the Inside. Outside and Inside are basically one and the same. Without Inner Cleanliness there is no Outer Cleanliness. Heart and Life Force are basically a unity. By circulating through the body, the Life Force allows the Heart to function. The Heart is its soul. Since it has no form, it is superior to this Life Force. If one disciplines the Life Force, the Heart will become peaceful of its own accord, yet if the Life Force moves indiscriminately, it will cause the Heart pain. An example: if a ship sails forth smoothly, the passengers are calm, but if the waves rise and the ship is endangered, they are not calm. At the beginning of one's study, one must undertake first to dissolve the congestion in the Life Force and thereby still the Heart, to enliven the Life Force and thereby liberate the Heart.

'I have told of an exercise for collecting the confused and agitated Life Force while lying prone, for releasing the unbalanced Life Force and making it peaceful. If one practises this exercise for five to seven or ten to twenty days, one will

spontaneously experience a feeling of bliss. Out of this blissfulness one will practise the art more and more intensively. If the Life Force is collected, it cannot fail to be enlivened. One will no longer suffer the misguidance of a sluggish Life Force. Since the Life Force fills the entire body, by even slightly enlivening the Heart, the Life Force is also enlivened.

'Now, when a person arises at midday, he assumes an appropriate posture, enlivens the Life Force and lets it fill his entire body. As with Niō-Zazen of the Shozan school,[70] one should remain seated for some time and collect one's Life Force. But while doing so, it is not absolutely necessary to light incense, remain for a specified length of time or to sit in a meditative posture. By sitting in one's usual posture, one assumes a proper attitude and enlivens the Life Force, nothing more than that. Since it is done for only a short time, it can be done several times during the day in hours of leisure. This behaviour strengthens one's constitution, allows the blood to flow freely and without congestion, assures the ever-presence of the Life Force, and prevents illness from arising of itself. But if a person does not assume the proper attitude, the Life Force will not achieve balance.

'The same is true for the standing exercise. It is all the same whether one sits facing another person, whether one is confronted with a problem or is pursuing an activity. If the chest and shoulders are relaxed, the Life Force will achieve balance and be free of congestion, one must concentrate on filling the entire body with it right to the fingertips. Whether a person is singing letting his voice ring out, is eating his rice, drinking his tea or walking along a road, if he continually strives to achieve this state, then in time it will become a permanent condition and he will enliven his Life Force in a thoroughly natural way. And if it has become, so to speak, a permanent condition, then his reactions to unexpected incidents will also be quick. If a person is sluggish, the Life Force atrophies and functions only slowly. Apathy and negligence are very similar to one another, but are still different things. That is something one will discover on one's own. If even the young, uneducated beginner guides his Heart in this way, the effort costs him no strain and the results are easily realized.

'The following is true for children's games, the tea ceremony, ball games, and for the entire range of the arts: if the Life Force

is not balanced and lively, stillness and movement will have no form, the flow of the movements of the hands and the feet will lack beauty, and reactions will be inhibited. If a person suddenly remembers to practise this in the moment he takes up his weapon, he then can indeed renew his Life Force and rely upon his physical conditioning and technique to compose himself. Yet because he behaves completely consciously when he does this, the Life Force is unsteady and irresolute and performs with difficulty when the person is confronted by the unexpected. Yet if a person uses and exercises his Heart consistently, then he will spontaneously react with propriety even at the most crucial moment. A person must simply keep his Life Force lively at all times and not allow it to fall into sluggish ways. A sluggish Life Force is a dormant Life Force, and a dormant Life Force lacks its non-material component. Thus, it does not perform its function properly, and, what is more, it often brings forth fear which causes a person to avoid things. On the other hand, if the Life Force fills the entire body and forms a living union with the Heart, then there is no fright, there is no fear, and a person can handle even a sudden change in the situation with ease. But an unstable Life Force is rootless and lacks vitality. It may not seem to be so, but it is.

'In ancient times a Zen monk instructed a boy and said, "Whenever you go past a place of which you are afraid, you must tense the muscles in your stomach as you pass it by, then the fear will disappear". That is good advice. A tensed stomach area draws the Life Force downwards and collects it in the lower portion of the body, and after a short time it fills out all of the inner space and becomes strong. Fear and fright arise because the Life Force is gone from below and has settled in the upper areas of the body.

'One can observe that ordinary people often walk as they do because they have shifted their centre of gravity upwards, and because they maintain their balance with their heads or rub their limbs against one another. A person who walks correctly has no movement above the hips. Because he walks with his legs, his body is quiet, his inner organs do not rub against one another, and his body does not tire. This can be observed in the walk of a sedan-chair bearer. If the Life Force of a person who approaches bearing a sword or a spear is clouded and unbalanced, he will not succeed in walking with his legs.

If a person, following the movements of his head, rubs his limbs against one another, he will damage his body. The Life Force is aroused, and the Heart is not tranquil. When grasping a sword, the right hand is forward, when grasping a spear, then it is the left. While standing a person keeps ready the foot with which he will take his first step. One must constantly discipline oneself in all things. Whether a person is walking along a road, sitting, sleeping or talking with somebody, he must be attentive to this.

'In observing the foot movements of the sarugaku dancers, one notices that they keep all of their toes bent, thereby keeping ready the foot with which they will take their next step, and they walk by leading with the heel. This is more than a peculiarity of style particular to their class. By keeping ready the foot with which they will take their next step, they are free in the use of their feet. Thus, the Life Force of the dancer flows back into his self and is not diverted by his partner. It is exactly the same with the foot and body movements of a ball player. When a good sarugaku dancer enters the stage from the rear, he does not trip and fall. That is because his Life Force is vibrant and fills his entire body, he is collected and heavy low in his body and light above, and his movement is balanced; his voice resounds because he breathes from below the navel upwards. When a poor dancer enters the stage, he trips and falls even over the smallest obstacle. That is because he – not being heavy or anchored below, having an unbalanced and sluggish Life Force – breathes from the upper part of the chest, his centre of gravity is high and below is nothing. Whenever a good singer drops his voice to the tone *ryo*, his stomach below his navel swells powerfully with air.

'Through constant self-examination, all of these things can be recognized. Thus, he who is light below and moves his centre of gravity upwards, will tire quickly when he walks. That is true not only for the examples presented here. If a person concentrates upon every perception of the eyes and the ears and examines each one, then he will understand that he must be concerned with all things between heaven and earth. No one can ever say that the world has nothing more to teach him. For there is always something that is superior to him and he strives towards that. Man will never reach the realm where there exists nothing superior towards which he could strive. It

says in a work about strategy "If you accompany your master on a march, you should contemplate the abundance of blessings which the earth offers all around you in the mountains and rivers". A famous army commander of ancient times observed the work of the farmers and provincials and devoted his heart to it, and there are many people who have attained absolute perfection in this as in other arts. Do not limit yourself to strategy! If a person continually directs his Heart towards all things of this world, he will share generously in its abundance. But the person who is foolish and empty is as good as dead. Things offer themselves to him, but he does not reach out to them.'

One asked: 'Strategy is the art of intentionally misleading people. Does that not mean that to fulfil oneself in this way is to encourage our imperfect knowledge and to inflict injury upon the Heart?'

He spoke: 'When the nobleman uses it, then it is a means of preserving the peace of the empire. When the ordinary person uses it, he causes himself harm by it, and it may become a means of inflicting pain upon others. Yet that is true of all things. If a person directs his will upon the Way before anything else and does not allow himself to be led astray by a selfish Heart, then he may even acquire the art of thieves and robbers and it will be a great help to him in defending himself against thieves and robbers, without ever weakening his desire to follow the right Way. However, if the will places the greatest importance on emotions, desires, profit, and evil deeds, and a person pursues his study with these things in mind, then even the works of saints and sages will serve to encourage imperfect knowledge. Therefore, a person must first guide his will along the proper path and then, without letting himself be diverted from it, take up all things of this world in the course of his study.

'If a person were to study the strategic arts without subordinating his self to the right Way, then he would find great joy in the words fame and profit, his spirit would be swayed by them, and, by emphasizing the artifices that spring from imperfect knowledge, he would without fail make the mistake of considering this to be the Way of the warrior. He who studies swordsmanship and masters it, but then uses it to become a successful highwayman and considers that to be the Way of the hero, will bring injury to his body through the art. But that is

not the fault of the art; the wrong will is responsible for it.

'Benkei and Kumasaka were equal as Masters of swordsmanship. They were both men of animal strength, equally endowed with intelligence and cleverness. Benkei used these gifts to fight loyally for his master, while Kumasaka used them to pursue his thieving ways. Therefore, no single plan makes up the Way of the warrior. What does make up the Way of the warrior is that he uses such a plan to prove his loyalty in battle. The fact that Benkei struck his master Yoshitsune with a cane at the border station of Ataka in the province of Kaga is not loyal in itself.[71] That by doing so he helped his master out of trouble, that was loyal. The act is judged by the results; it is foolish to judge it only by the action.

'Strategy is the art of calling up a number of soldiers and making necessary preparations, of not allowing the enemy to destroy one's own camp, but rather of using surprise troops and destroying the enemy through clever planning. He who becomes an enemy of goodness by employing evil is a bandit. Can one afford, however, to make no preparations and to proceed without a plan, to fight illogically, to fall into the plans of the enemy, and to allow one's own loyal soldiers to bleed for the sake of a bandit? If I am a Master of the art of planning, then I first make my preparations and do not become the victim of the enemy's plans. Yet if I am not a Master of this art, I am the victim of the enemy. How could we get along without this art?

'There are many things to consider in this art of planning, to be sure, but it will only succeed if it does not run counter to humaneness. A plan which runs counter to humaneness remains ineffectual, no matter how cleverly it is conceived. No matter how often a doctor may read his books nor how well he may know his cures, if he does not know the actual causes of the illness and simply dispenses his medicine at random, then instead of bringing about a cure he will only create more illnesses. The knowledge of the field commander exists in his knowledge of humaneness. If a field commander is not trustworthy, just, and does not love people, then he also does not know about humaneness. If there is no humaneness at work then his plan will only bring disaster – the past and the present teach this clearly enough. It is like the doctor who randomly dispenses his medicine and by doing so simply creates more illnesses. If the enemy storms forth, but I know myself to be in

harmony with the Way, then humaneness on my part is like a suit of metal armour. Why then should I fear the plan of the enemy? If, on the other hand, the enemy is in harmony with the Way and no humaneness is at work on my side, then my own plans will remain ineffectual. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that the field commander possess humaneness.

'What warriors study today are only the traces of the strategic art of famous commanders, the dregs of the ancients. But a commander is measured according to this: that he learns from the dregs of the ancients and extracts clear liquid from them. In the infantry, a warrior is measured by how he performs his duty, and, according to this duty, whether he does the right thing at the right moment. Company leader, escort, scout, courier – they each have their particular duty. The advance guard, flank troops, rear guard, and reserve troops – they each have their own rules for handling raised spear, lowered spear, and for retreat. If one does not know these rules, one cannot respond properly. Troops are often completely annihilated on account of one small mistake in an attack on a fortress or in defence of a fortress, in a sneak attack, in a night attack, or night-time invasion. To be in such a situation and not know what to do is more dangerous than to attempt crossing a wide stream without being able to swim.'

One asked: 'If I deceive the enemy by means of a plan, then the enemy can also trick me with the help of a plan. But how can it be that I alone possess knowledge and the entire rest of the world is ignorant?'

He answered: 'What you speak of, in truth, is the usual way in which the ancients are imitated. The *go* and chessplayers have had their established moves since ancient times, and although it may appear that one can do no more than to learn them thoroughly, the master player is successful in arriving at new combinations not included in them. To imitate the established *go* moves and copy the ancient chess combinations is to learn a plan. Yet once these have been learned, then the player develops additional, new strategies from them and thereby decides the outcome of the game. This is how it is with all things in this world: they are not always imitations, even though they may appear to be so. And it is the same with strategic planning. Each commander, according to his own talents, acts at the

proper moment on the basis of his knowledge of the ancients' plans, and, as regards the art of using surprise troops, if the situation demands them, then the proper orders will issue forth from the commander's inner being. The good commanders of ancient times observed the activity of fishermen, woodcutters, and farmers, immediately learned them, and created a new art from them, which they often used in their campaigns. If a person continually focuses his awareness on it, he will recognize that everything which he sees or hears contributes to the art of planning. Yet, if he first does not know the plans of the ancients, then his subsequent study will have no firm foundation. It is exactly the same in scholarship. If a person does not equip himself with what has been passed down from ancient times, then he will not be able to comprehend the Way, which itself is not apprehensible. By forever approaching all things with his Heart, a person makes everything which he sees and hears a means of exercising his Heart, and in an emergency he will be able to give himself completely to the situation at hand. In battle, if the greater power is on the side of the enemy, then it is difficult to maintain one's freedom as in a one-to-one confrontation. It is essential to ponder continually the knowledge passed down from the ancients and develop laws from it, to train the soldiers thoroughly, and take care that strategy develops freely at the same time.

'We may be prospering today by reason of the concealed virtue of our forefathers. Yet should even a single thought cause a person to stray only slightly from the Way, there arise the most diverse confusions of the Heart, and in the end that person enters the world of the Tengu, exhausts the concealed virtue of his forefathers, and disaster follows faster than an arrow flies. Fear this and guard yourself from it! To belong to the world of the Tengu is boldly to display one's limited knowledge and despise men, to rejoice in the confusion of men and thereby create a world of good and evil, profit and loss; it is not to understand what it means to rejoice in nothingness, to make desires one's main concern, and not to reflect upon oneself. He who declares himself one (of the Tengu) will be called good, and he who does not declare himself one will be called evil. One leaves the world's conceptions of good and evil outside the stockade walls of one's own selfishness, hates that, loves this, is angry or annoyed and the Heart is never calm. The Buddhist

calls this: "Drink hot water three times a day and set your body on fire". The pain of this heat throws a person into the most varied states of motion, causes him to commit evil deeds, and brings harm upon others.

'You must certainly discipline your Heart and collect your Life Force, leave behind you the world of demons, go out into the world of mankind, and aspire to the Way. Because you have long snouts and beaks and wings, you consider yourselves superior to men and lead the ignorant by the nose. But your long snouts, pointed beaks and light wings only bring pain to the Heart and injury to people. In scholarship as in swordsmanship it is only a matter of knowing oneself. If one knows oneself, then the Inner Being is clear and one is consciously attentive to oneself. Therefore, when that point has been reached, one can have no enemy. Only when a person commits an error out of ignorance, is it not his own fault but a fault that rests with heaven. He who does not know himself also does not know mankind. He whose Heart, trapped within himself, leads him to deceive and defeat another will himself be struck down by his victim directly in the weak spot that is his Heart trapped within itself. He who attacks another out of greed will find his greed set in motion, and he will himself be struck down by his victim directly in the weak spot that is this motion. He who suppresses others through force will be struck down by those persons in the very spot where the force exhibits its inherent weakness. This is equally true for scholarship as for swordsmanship.

'Only he who thoroughly knows himself and is free from greed is not vulnerable. He cannot be broken by force nor moved by greed nor deceived by tricks. Although I have contemplated this and have always been aware of myself, I am still not free from the lower emotions. The only thing I have even slightly transcended is "drinking hot water". I am still a Tengu. One day I may well go out into the world of men and comprehend the Way. Here I have only presented to you a little of what I have heard myself.'

With that he concluded his speech. Grass and trees trembled, the mountains roared, and the valleys echoed in reply. A wind rose and blew in my face – I opened my eyes and realized that it had all been a dream. What had appeared to me to be a mountain was a screen. With a pounding heart, I found myself lying in my bedroom.

In Conclusion

I had a guest. He criticized this book and said, 'What you discuss there makes the Principle clear and is satisfactory. Yet in your discussion about the changes which the Life Force undergoes, you do not explain how one acquires an appropriate technique. It is useful to those who are old, sick and preoccupied for strengthening their wills. But it is inadequate for someone who practises swordsmanship.'

I replied, 'I am not a swordsman. How could I wish to lead a person in that realm? I have merely loved the art of swordsmanship since my youth and have had close acquaintance with men of the art. I have attempted to draw knowledge from their technique, examined the changes of my own Life Force and cured its weaknesses. I have heard about their Principle and striven for enlightenment of the Heart. And whenever from time to time I found agreement in my Heart, I recorded it, and only my youthful naivety has caused me to present it publicly. I sincerely beg of you, my friend, to attribute it to my youthful naivety. At the same time, I feared the abuse of the experts that my many words might engender. So as not to give up completely, I have put the words in the mouths of the Tengu and thus made it seem that they were not to be taken seriously. How could I alone have ever claimed as the truth a little volume entitled "Conversations Heard in a Dream"?'

APPENDIX I

Japanese Names for Swordsmanship throughout History

The phenomenon most often called 'swordsmanship' in this work has manifested many contradictions and variations in character. Accordingly, the Japanese have frequently changed its name during the course of their history. At times they favoured one generally accepted name and at others used several names at the same time.[72] Although the word *kendō* appeared very early in China,[73] it only came into use in Japan during the Tokugawa Period (1603–1867) and into common usage in the Meiji Period (1868–1912). The name *tachikaki*[74] appears in the *Nihonshoki* (720), *yōtō* (*katana wo mochi-yu*)[75] in the *Ryō no Gige* (833), and *gekken* in the *Kaifūsō* (751).[76] Later appeared the words *tachiuchi* (Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi Periods) and *hyōhō tōjutsu*, *tōhō*, *kenpō*, and *kenjutsu*, all in use concurrently.[77] Of these several names, *gekken* and *kenjutsu* were preferred during the time from the mid-Tokugawa Period to the end of the Meiji Period. The usage of the name *kendō* was considerably more limited. Another Tokugawan name was *hyōhō-shigeki*. The term *kendō* has been preferred since the Meiji Period, the reason being perhaps that swordsmanship had progressively lost its purely military aims following the Tokugawa Period and assumed the dual character of a 'Way' leading to the individual's personal character development and of a sport, and to this end the sharp blade was replaced by the bamboo shaft (*shinai*). The name *kendō* was also retained, however, for the swordsmanship which was practised exclusively as a sport. This term has been in official usage since 1926.[78]

APPENDIX 2

Important Schools of Swordsmanship

One of the first schools which can be dated with some certainty[79] is the SHINTO-RYU or TENSHIN-SHODEN-SHINTO-RYU. The tradition of this school is closely related to Shinto thought, as its name clearly indicates. Its founder Iishino (Iizasa) Chōisai came from the province of Shimōsa, the village Iizasa (Iishino) in Katori, and during his youth had been in the service of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–90). He later returned to his home and endeavoured to penetrate the divine secrets of swordsmanship through the practice of Katori-jingū.[80] He attained enlightenment after prolonged and unrelenting study,[81] and on this basis founded his school, from which many other schools developed such as the SHINTO-RYU (BOKUDEN-RYU), the ARIMA-RYU, the ICHIU-RYU, and others. It is not possible to provide the exact dates of these events, if their historic authenticity is indeed accepted. The founding of the school can well be placed in the mid-fifteenth century since Iisaza Chōsai died in 1488 or 1489. It is also impossible for us to determine the exact goals and techniques of the SHINTO-RYU since contemporary sources are rare. It was not until the Tokugawa Period that extensive modifications (the writings of the school are apocryphal) led to the establishment of a detailed regimentation. That is also true of the above-named sub-schools.[82]

The forefather of the SHINTUO-RYU (also BOKUDEN-RYU or KASHIMA SHINTO-RYU) is Tsukaware Bokuden (1490–1571). He learned the traditions of Choisai's SHINTO-RYU from his father and older brother but was apparently dissatisfied with it in that form since he is said to have joined the KAGE-RYU under

Kamiizumi Hidetsuna for a time. None of this, however, can be clearly determined.[83]

At the height of his fame Bokuden travelled through the land with great pomp. In Kyōto, the famous shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536–65), Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610), and Kitabatake Tomonori (1528–76) were his students. Bokuden distinguished himself in numerous duels and battles. Also famous is his last poem from the *Bokuden Ikunshō*[84] (*Bokuden Hyakushū*), a collection of *waka*, in which he deals with topics from the interrelationship between swordsmanship and the professional warrior. It reads;

> A Heart devoted
> to study - when technique
> goes astray
> so must the Heart,
> lead on by technique's folly.[85]

The ARIMA-RYU[86] also belongs to the group of schools that derived from the SHINTO-RYU of Iisaza Chōisai. It was founded by Arima Genshin (dates unknown), a student of Matsumoto Masanobu (1468–1524), whose importance to the development of ancient swordsmanship is as a transmitter of the kashima tradition and student of Chōisai, although he never founded his own school; Yamada calls his movement KASHIMA SHIN-RYU.[87] The ARIMA-RYU then merged into the TAKEMORI-RYU during the mid-Tokugawa Period.[88]

Another school modelled upon the SHINTO-RYU is the ICHIU-RYU[89] (ICHIU-HA SHINTO-RYU) of Morooka Ichiu (dates unknown) during the Bunroku Era (1592–6). He was probably a student of Tsukawara Bokuden. His life is surrounded by legends, often making a distinction between fiction and historic truth impossible.[90] Among his students were Iwama Oguma, Tsuchiko Doronosuke, and Negishi Tokaku, to whom is supposedly attributed the MIJIN-RYU.[91]

The SHINTO MUNEN-RYU of Fukui Yoshihira is also a school of the SHINTO-RYU tradition, founded relatively late (era of Hōreiki, 1751–64).

The following are some of the basic movements that belong to the traditional line of the CHUJO-RYU,[92] the second of the four early schools of the Muromachi Period: TOMITA-RYU, HASEGAWA-RYU, KANEMAKI-RYU, TODA-RYU, ITTO-RYU,

NIKAIDO-RYU, and GAN-RYU. The dates of Chūjō Nagahide, the founder of the CHUJO-RYU, are not known. He was active during the lifetime of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408), who had supposedly called upon Chūjō to become his teacher. The founding of the school is placed in the era of Ōei (1394–1428).[93] The *Kanjō-shōden* and other works indicate that Nagahide studied swordsmanship with the monk Jion of Jufukuji in Kamakura, yet the latter's existence is doubtful.[94] Although Nagahide had numerous students and many new schools arose from his, the direct lineage of the CHUJO-RYU is not entirely clear. The traditional opinion based on the *Kanjō-shōden* is that it proceeded by way of Kai Buzen no Kami and Ōhashi Kangeyuzaemon, but Yamada casts doubt on this.[95]

Various members of the Tomita family of Echizen have been credited with the founding of the TOMITA-RYU:[96] Tomita Kurōemon Naga'ie, a contemporary of the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–90), his son Kage'ie, his grandson Kagemasa, and his great-grandson Shigemasa (1564–1625). Naga'ie supposedly learned Chūjō swordsmanship from Ōhashi Kangeyuzaemon, and from that time the tradition continued in the family without interruption. According to Yamada. Shigemasa first gave the school its name. He was very famous and bore with great pleasure – he was Echigo no Kami – the epithet 'Myōjin Echigo', the famous man (from) Echigo.

The TODA-RYU[97] is certainly very closely connected with the TOMITA-RYU, but here too it is difficult to identify its founders and perpetuators;[98] Yamada's facts are contradictory. Its founding has been attributed to Toda (Tomita) Seigen, the brother of Tomita Kagemasa, and Toda Echigo no Kami Tsunayoshi. Yamazaki Sakon Shōgen (Gorōemon) is considered by Shōshi Munemitsu to be the perpetuator of the TOMITA-RYU and by Yamada to be the perpetuator of the TODA-RYU.[99] The dates of his life are unknown.

Information regarding the HASEGAWA-RYU and the KANEMAKI-RYU[100] is also scarce. Hasegawa Sōki (dates unknown) is said to have been a student of Tomita Gorōzaemon, he was active during the lifetime of Toyotomi Hidetsugu (1568–95). The school was founded during the era of Tenshō (1573–92).

The KANEMAKE-RYU was founded by Kanemaki Jisai Michiie (dates unknown) in the era of Keichō (1596–1615). He studied with Tomita Kagemasa and lived during the early Tokugawa

Period. He enjoyed the same high regard as that of Hasegawa Sōki and Yamazaki Rokurōzaemon, whose schools were known as 'TOMITA NO SANKE' – the 'Three Houses of Tomita Tradition'.

One school that gave rise to many sub-schools was the ITTO-RYU.[101] It can be traced from Itō Ittōsai Kagehisa, a prominent personality whose main accomplishments also occurred during the early Tokugawa Period. Sources (*Honchō Bugeishōden*, *Shinsen Bujutsu-ryūso-roku*, *Gekken-sōdan*, and others) provide contradictory information concerning his lineage, lifetime, and activities. He may have been born in 1550 or 1560, supposedly lived more than nincty years and came from Ōmi, Kaga, or Izu.[102] He entered the school of Kanemaki Jisai (?), wandered through all of Japan, had numerous duels, many students, and is attributed great successes. It is not known when he founded his own school. Yamada places him in the era of Keichō (1596–1615).[103] Towards the end of his life, in the mid-seventeenth century, he supposedly returned to the province of Shimōsa where he died.

Itō Ittōsai's most important students and successors were:

Ono Jirōemon Tadaaki, (Mikogami Tenzen Tadaaki),[104] died 1628, Ittōsai's student, follower of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) and teacher of Tokugawa Hidetada (1578–1632). Tadaaki or his son Tadatsune (died 1665) is presumed to be the founder of the ONO-HA ITTO-RYU (era of Kanbun, 1661–73);

Itō Tenzen Tadanari[105] (dates unknown) is the younger brother of Taadaki, founder of the ITO-HA ITTO-RYU (also CHUYA-HA . . ., after the Sino-Japanese reading of the name Tadanari) in the era of Hōei (1704–11);

Kofujita Kangejuzaemon Toshinao,[106] student of Ittōsai and founder of the YUISHIN ITTO-RYU;

Kaji Shin'emon Masanao,[107] died 1681, student of Ono Tadatsune, founder of the KAJI-HA ITTO-RYU (era of Tenwa, 1681–84);[108]

Terada Gorōemon Muneari (1744–1825), founder of the TENSHIN-ITTO-RYU (era of Kansei, 1789–1801);[109]

Henmi Tashirō Yoshitoshi (1746–1838), founder of the KOGEN-ITTO-RYU,[110] who began studying swordsmanship under Sakurai Nagamasa;

Chiba Shūsaku Narismasa (1794–1855), founder of the HOKUSHIN-ITTO-RYU (era of Tenpō, 1830–44);[111]

Ishiyama Sonroku (1828–1904).

The following are also in the tradition of the CHUJO-RYU:

Matsuyama Mondo, founder of the NIKAIDO-RYU (era of Keichō, 1596–1615);[112] and

Sasaki Shōjirō, founder of the GAN-RYU (era of Keichō, 1596–1615), whose historical authenticity is questionable.[113]

Those are the most important schools of the CHUJO tradition.

Legends also surround the origins of the KAGE-RYU,[114] the third of the great early schools of swordsmanship. Aizu Hyūga no Kami Ikō (1452–1538?), a descendant of the Murakami-Genji family Kitabatake, is credited with being its founder. At the age of thirty-six he left his home in Ise to travel throughout the country, settling at last in Udo, in the province of Hyūga. It is here that he is said to have experienced divine revelation and founded his school during the era of Tenbun (1532–55).[115] The tradition of the KAGE-RYU came by way of his son Aizu Koshichirō and Kamiizumi Musashi no Kami Hidetsugu to Hidetsugu's son Kamiizumi Musashi no Kami Nobutsuna (Ise no Kami Hidetsuna, about 1520–77), who eventually founded his own school, the famous SHIN-KAGE-RYU,[116] based on the KAGE-RYU of the era of Eiroku (1558–70). Nobutsuna is one of the greatest personalities in the history of Japanese swordsmanship. He participated in many of the battles which characterized his time. The component of his name 'nobu' (sinojap. *shin*) was honorarily bestowed upon him by Takeda Shingen (1521–73).[117] His art enjoyed such great renown that in 1571 he was even commissioned to perform it before Ōgimachi Tennō (1517–93), who loved swordsmanship and granted him noble rank.[118] The SHIN-KAGE-RYU became one of the representative schools of the Tokugawa Period, and as Japanese swordsmanship *par excellence* it even reached China – the *Wu-pei-chih* of the Ming-Chinese Mao Yüan-i placed the date in the year 1561.[119] Nobutsuna had many famous students and successors, some of whom founded their own schools based on the SHIN-KAGE-RYU. The most important of these are:

Shingo Izu no Kami Muneharu (dates unknown), who had many students but never founded his own movement, and

Yagyū Tajima no Kami Muneyoshi[120] (1527-1606), who was originally an adherent of the CHUJO-RYU. In his now famous meeting with Kamiizumi Nobutsuna he recognized the superiority of the SHIN-KAGE-RYU and, based upon it, eventually founded the YAGYU SHIN-KAGE-RYU (1565). Due to the close

relationship which he and his son Munenori (1571–1646) had with Ieyasu Tokugawa, this school became the resident school of the Tokugawa shōguns together with the ITTO-RYU of Itō Ittōsai, and won great influence and popularity because of this official recognition. This school, which survives into the present,[121] was continued by Munenori's sons Yagyū Mitsuyoshi (1607–50), Yagyū Munefuyu (1613–75), and others such as Araki Mataemon (1601–38). A distinction is made between the YAGYU SHIN-KAGE-RYU (Yagyū Muneyoshi) and the YAGYU-RYU, a modified and expanded form, originating with either Munenori or Mitsuyoshi.[122]

The YAGYU (SHIN-KAGE)-RYU developed a particularly obvious and close relationship with Zen Buddhism. Yagyū Munenori, who is accredited with a deep spirituality, maintained a friendship with Takuan Sōhō (1573–1645), the famous Zen abbot and adherent of swordsmanship, who in turn had influence with the shōguns Ieyasu and Hidetada.[123] He is the author of the *Fudōchi-shinmyōroku*, a work on swordsmanship written to Munenori, in which he interpreted the art completely in the context of Zen and set forth clearly the spiritual relationship between these two methods of self-realization.[124]

Marume Kurando (1540–1629 or 1634), also known as Marume Kurando no Suke Tessai, together with Shingo Muneharu, Yagyū Muneyoshi and Hikita Bungorō (see below), are called Shin-Kage-shitennō (Four Patron Saints of the SHIN-KAGE-RYU). It is not certain when Marume Kurando was legitimately named by Kamiizumi Nobutsuna as a disciple of the SHIN-KAGE-RYU, probably during the era of Eiroku (1558–70). His school, whose founding Yamada places in the era of Tenshō (1573–92), is known by two names: TAISHA-RYU or SHINKAN-RYU. Okuyama Saemon Daifu Tadanobu (dates unknown), his student and successor, reformed the school and gave it the name SHINKAN-RYU.[125]

Hikita Bungo (Bungorō) Kagekane (died 1605? in China) is the founder of the HIKITA (KAGE)-RYU. He is known for his refusal to fence before Kanpaku Toyotomi Hidetsugu (1568–95) because he believed that swordsmanship was not a game but, on the contrary, a matter of life and death. His school, founded during the era of Tenshō (1573–92), was carried on by Yamada Fugessai and Nakai Shinpachi, Terazawa Hanbei, and Suga Izumi.[126]

Okuyama Magojirō (Kinshige, Kyūgasai, 1525–1602) was also a student of Kamiizumi Nobutsuna. Based on the latter's tradition, he established the SHIN-KAGE-RYU, also called the OKUYAMA-RYU, during the era of Tenshō (1573–92). He was highly respected by Tokugawa Ieyasu to whom he revealed the secret teachings of his school.[127]

Tsukawara Bokuden, founder of the SHINTO-RYU (see p. 95), was also a follower of Nobutsuna's SHIN-KAGE-RYU for a time and is, therefore, also considered one of its perpetuators.

The fourth basic school of swordsmanship is the NEN-RYU. It is said to have been established during the era of Tenbun (1532–55) by the former monk Uesaka Yasuhisa of the Rinzai sect. Yamada prefers to identify it with the MANIWA NEN-RYU, whose origins are not clear but whose later existence is verifiable.[128]

The development of the MANIWA NEN-RYU is traced to the Zen monk Jion or Nen Oshō (Sōma Shirō Yoshimoto, twelfth and thirteenth centuries).[129] Among his students was Higuchi Tarō Kaneshige, from whose time the tradition continued without interruption. The facts vary concerning the agent who moved the seat of the family and the school to Maniwa in the area of Tago, the province of Kōzuke, and thus gave rise to the name MANIWA NEN-RYU: Higuchi Sadakatsu (era of Keichō, 1596–1615) and Higuchi Takashige (1500) are named. Its daughter schools exist into the present.[130]

In addition to the movements spawned by the four main schools, there were numerous schools which arose during the Tokugawa Period that had more or less distinctive characters. This development was not limited entirely to the early or middle Tokugawa Period, but continued into the later years as well. The majority of the schools did indeed arise in the time between 1600 and 1700, particularly during the years of Keichō, Kanei, Kanbun, and Genroku.[131] The MUTO-RYU first appeared in the Meiji Period, but as a derivative of the ITTO-RYU.[132]

The NITEN-ICHI-RYU goes back to Miyamoto Musashi (Niten) (1584–1645), whose name dominated swordsmanship during the early Tokugawa Period. Niten is his Buddhist name (*hōgō*).[133] The development of this man, known not only as a master swordsman but also as a painter and sculptor, reflects the entire development of the Japanese art of the sword from its exclusively warrior and battle-oriented origins to the high spiritualism it

reached under the influence of Zen Buddhism and Confucianism.

Many facts concerning the life of Miyamoto Musashi are unclear. He was supposedly born in 1584 (Tenshō 12) in the village of Miyamoto in the county Yoshino of Mimasaka, although some sources place him elsewhere.[134] He is a descendant of the Akamatsu lineage. In the foreword to his *Gorin no sho* he reports that he had felt drawn towards swordsmanship even in his early youth – his father had also been famous for his skill with the sword.[135] In order fully to realize his talents, Miyamoto Musashi wandered through the country after fighting in the battle of Sekigahara (1600) (not definite). According to his own statement, he can take credit for having lost none of his numerous duels.[136] This prompted his question whether victory alone could be the ultimate goal of swordsmanship. It was probably during those years of travel when he developed his double-sword technique which gave the name NITO-RYU, or Two-Sword School, to his school. Yamada places the founding of the school in the era of Keichō (1586–1615).[137] His fame grew after the duel with the feared master of the GAN-RYU, Sasaki Shōjirō (not historically verifiable), whom he killed with a single stroke of his wooden sword. In 1634 he entered the service of Ogasawara Tadazane; in 1640 he became a disciple of Hosokawa Tadatoshi in Kumamoto where he stayed until his death. While in seclusion there in the year 1634, he produced his testament as a master of swordsmanship, the *Gorin no sho*, which in five volumes presents his view of the essence and principles of his school and of swordsmanship in general. Shortly before his death he entrusted it to his student Terao Katsunobu. Terao Nobuyuki obtained an early version of the *Gorin no sho*, the *Hyō-hō-sanjugo-ga-jō*.[138]

The successor school of the NITEN-ICHI-RYU of Miyamoto Musashi is the AOKI-RYU, also called the NITO-TETSUJIN-RYU or simply the TETSUJIN-RYU of Aoki Kanae'ie Tetsujinsai.[139]

MUSASHI-RYU and ENMYO-RYU[140] are names for Miyamoto Musashi's movement that arose before its ultimate designation NITEN-ICHI-RYU. Although they could claim their own adherents, they never actually developed distinctly individual traditions.

There are divergent opinions as to whether the SHINKATATO-RYU is an entirely independent school as is, for example, the NITEN-ICHI-RYU, or whether it may have derived from other

schools. It was founded by Iba Zesuiken Mitsuaki (Hideaki) (1648–1713) during the era of Genroku (1688–1704). He appears to have adopted elements from various schools (SHINTO-RYU, HONSHINTO-RYU, YAGYU-RYU, ITTO-RYU). According to Yamada it is a direct derivation of the SHINTO-RYU, but this is uncertain.[141] The tradition of the SHINKATATO-RYU continues into the present. Among its students was Matsuura Seizan (1760–1841) who distinguished himself as historiographer of the school.[142]

Tōgō Shigekura was the founder of the JIGEN-RYU (1561–1643). He was a follower of the Shimazu clan in Satsuma, and supposedly built his school on the precepts of the Sōtō monk Zenkichi. As a highly educated man, he excelled in other areas besides weapons artistry. The school developed techniques (e.g. the so-called *tatekiuchi*)[143] particularly befitting the sports-like character it assumed during the Tokugawa Period due to the lack of real opportunities for battle. It is said to have remained relatively unchanged into the period of the Meiji Restoration.[144]

Finally, the KYOSHIN-MEICHI-RYU[145] should be mentioned. This school, whose derivatives continue into the present, was established during the era of Kansei (1789–1801) by Momoi Hachirōzaemon Naoyoshi, and brought together elements of the TODA-, ITTO-, YAGYU-, and HORIUCHI-RYU. It was carried on by Momoi Shunzō Naoichi, who was called to instruct at the military school (Kōbusho), founded in 1854, and who had numerous students.

Countless additional names and schools could be added to the list, of course, but will not be mentioned here since nothing substantial can be said about many of them. The various schools and traditions which have been dealt with, however, suffice to demonstrate how complex and varied is the picture of Japanese swordsmanship, despite the tendency in recent times to standardize and categorize them, e.g. in the standardized police-*kendō*.

List of Abbreviations

BS	*Bujutsu-sōsho*, Tōkyō, 1925.
ESWS	*Erh-shih-wu-shih*, Hong Kong, 1959.
KST	(*Shintei Zōhō*) *Kokushi-taikei*, Tōkyō, 1964ff.
MN	*Monumento Nipponica*, Tōkyō, 1938ff.
MOAG	*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tōkyō, 1953ff.
NBZ	*Nihon Budō-zenshū*, Tōkyō, 1966f.
NKBT	*Nihon Kotenbungaku-takai*, Tōkyō, 1959ff.
NOAG	*Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Hamburg.
NTSZ	*Nihon Tetsugakushisō-zenshū*, Tōkyō, 1955–7.
OE	*Oriens Extremus*, Hamburg-Wiesbaden, 1954ff.
SDHJ	*Sekai Dai-hyakka-jiten*, Tōkyō, 1964ff.
SPPY	*Ssu-pu pei-yao*, Shanghai, 1927–36.
TASJ	*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Tōkyō.

Notes

1 See Horst Hammitzsch, 'Geschichte Japans', in *Abriss der Geschichte Aussereuropäischer Kulturen II*, Munich-Vienna, 1964, p. 242, and J. Edward Kidder, *Alt-Japan – Japan vor dem Buddhismus*, Cologne, n.d., pp. 103f, 117. In addition, Max Loehr, 'Vorgeschichte Japans', in *Abriss der Vorgeschichte*, Munich-Vienna, 1957, p. 147.

2 In contrast to the spear, which has decidedly phallic symbolic value, it seems that the cult of the sword was independent of the phallic cult and a later form of the cult (in the broadest sense) of the prehistoric Japanese. See Post Wheeler, *The Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese*, New York, 1952, pp. 395ff ('The Cult of the Sword').

3 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1a, p. 14; Karl Florenz, *Nihongi*, Tokyo, 1901, p. 42.

4 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1a, p. 69; Florenz, p. 185.

5 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1a, p. 45; Florenz, *Nihongi*, pp. 123, 129ff, 135.

6 See Satō Kan'ichi, *Nihon no tōken*, Tokyo, 1963, p. 6.

7 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1a, p. 138; *takeki-waza hito ni sugitamau*.

8 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1a, p. 168.

9 *Kaifūsō*, NKBT, vol. 69, p. 73f.

10 *Nihonshoki*, KST, vol. 1b, p. 403.

11 Sun Wu, also Sun-tzu, from Ch'i and Wu Ch'i, also Wu-tzu, from Wei; usually combined into Sun Wu; Ch'un Ch'iu and Chan Kuo Periods. They were so famous that the name Sun Wu has become generally synonymous for the art of strategy.

12 Among other great strategists and military experts whose works were still consulted during the Tokugawa Period (e.g. Naganuma Muneyoshi) are Szu-ma Fa, Wei Liao-tzu, Huang Shih-kung, and T'ai Kung-wang (Lü Shang). See Yamada Jirōkichi, *Nihon Kendō-shi* (henceforth: Yamada), Tokyo, 1960, p. 15.

13 For more on these uprisings see Hammitzsch, 'Geschichte Japans', pp. 256ff.

14 See Hammitzsch, 'Geschichte Japans', pp. 264ff.

15 See Imamura Yoshio (ed.), NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 13ff.

16 *Heike-monogatari*, NKBT, vol. 32, p. 310; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 14.

17 *Heiji-monogatari*, Yūhōdō Bunko, vol. 14, p. 263.

18 *Hōgen-monogatari*, NKBT, vol. 31, passage quoted in Yamada, p. 15.

19 The *Gikeiki*, which reports this episode, originated in the fifteenth century and has only limited value as a source. Compare Helen Craig-McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, Stanford, 1966, pp. 6, 52f; *Gikeiki*, NKBT, vol. 37, pp. 51ff.

20 Nagayoshi Saburō, *Nihon Bushidō-shi* (henceforth: Nagayoshi), Tokyo, 1932, pp. 52f.

21 Five Zen monasteries in both Kamakura and Kyōto which were founded under the patronage of the Hōjō regents and subject to a specific hierarchical system. See George Sansom, *A History of Japan 1334–1615*, London, 1961, pp. 159f; and Tamamura Takeji, *Gozan-bungaku*, Tokyo, 1962.

22 For more on the concept of loyalty (*chū*) see Nagayoshi, pp. 6ff, 41.

23 See Martin Ramming, 'Die Verschwörung des Yui Schōsetsu', in *Sino-Japonica, Festschrift André Wedemeyer zum 80. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1956.

24 For greater detail on the alliance between the bushi and Confucianism see Nagayoshi, pp. 149–98, and Horst Hammitzsch, 'Kangaku und Kokugaku', MN, vol. II, 1939, pp. 8f.

25 So that the Tokugawas could maintain more effective control over them, from 1635 the daimyō were compelled alternately to spend one year on their fief and one year in Edo; during their absence, they had to leave behind them their closest relatives as hostages. See Hammitzsch, 'Geschichte Japans', p. 287.

26 See here Martin Ramming, 'Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Samurai am Ende der Tokugawaperiode', in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, vol. 22, part A, Tokyo, 1928, and 'Zum Rōnin-problem in der Tokugawa-Zeit (1603–1868)', in *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, 1955, no. 4. In addition, Shinji Yoshimoto, *Edo-jidai no Buke no Seikatsu*, Tokyo, 1962.

27 See Nagayoshi, pp. 229f.

28 Figures vary greatly. According to Echi Shigeru (*Kokushi-jiten*) there were a total of more than 300, according to NBZ more than 700 (including the Iai schools), of which approximately 120 appeared under different names (NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 21ff). Yamada presents a list of 425 schools, of which again several appear under various names (Yamada, pp. 541–76).

29 See here Horst Hammitzsch, 'Zum Begriff "Weg" in Rahmen der japanischen Künste', NOAG, vol. 82, 1957, pp. 5ff.

30 Such excesses should not, however, be seen as too closely related to the art of swordsmanship. They had existed earlier and were primarily due to the social structure. See Henry L. Joly and Inada Hogitaro, *The Sword and Same*, London, 1962, pp. 117ff.

31 The *Kenen-hitsuroku* is an (unpublished) military writing of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), quoted in Yamada, p. 166.

32 Police-kendō is a standardized form constructed with elements from various schools. Compare the table in Yamada, pp. 359f.

33 NTSZ, vol. 15, pp. 211–50.

34 BS, pp. 313–42.

35 See *Kokusho-sōmokuroku*, vol. 5, p. 816, ref. *Tengu-geijutsu-ron*.

36 Daisetsu Suzuki, *Zen und die Kultur Japans*, Hamburg, 1958, pp. 42ff. Due to its extremely wide distribution throughout Europe, this book may have authoritatively formed the views concerning the relationship between swordsmanship and Zen Buddhism. Thus, for example, Eugen Herrigel in his chapter on swordsmanship in *Zen in der Kunst des Bogenschiessens*, Munich, 1955, pp. 81–93.

Also see, however, Reibun Yuki, 'Ken-Zen als Einheit', in Karlfried Graf von Durckheim, *Japan und die Kultur der Stille*, Weilheim/Obb., 1949.

37 See here Horst Hammitzsch, 'Zum Begriff "Weg" im Rahmen der Japanischen Künste', NOAG, vol. 82, 1957, pp. 5ff.

38 Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, 1953, vol. II, pp. 610–11.

39 Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, New York, 1966, p. 318.

40 Suzuki, *Zen und die Kultur Japans*, p. 56: 'According to one author. . . .'

41 Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 541.

42 SPPY, *Lun Yü*, vol. VII, ch. 8; Trans. Wilhelm.

43 SPPY, *Lun Yü*, vol. XIX, ch. 12.

44 Compare here a passage in the *Gikeiki*, where it is reported how those initiated into a certain military writing ascended to heaven or rode through the air on a bamboo cane. Helen Craig-McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, p. 97; *Gikeiki*, NKBT, vol. 37, p. 82.

45 Tōbu: province Musashi, i.e. its eastern portion. The area of Toshima was incorporated into Tokyo in 1932.

46 Kanda Hakuryūshi (also Hakuryōshi; dates unknown) was a famous military expert of the Tokugawa Period. He wrote the works *Shichisho-rigen-shō*, *Buke-meisū* (*Wakan-bunrui*) *Shoke-meisū*, and others.

47 With respect to the philosophical and psychological concepts: here the attempt was, in general, to give each individual Japanese concept a specific translation. For stylistic reasons, however, the author of the *Tengu-geijutsu-ron* often uses synonymous terms from the vast but not always precise Japanese vocabulary, and it seemed neither possible nor necessary to translate each differently. The German translator, in such cases, translated these concepts with the same German word and, if it was not a matter of essential concepts, incorporated them into the translation without particular notation, in accordance with his best knowledge and conscience.

48 *Liu I* (Jap. *rikugei*). According to the *Chou Li* (quoted *Tz'u-hai*, p. 158) these are ceremony, music, archery, horsemanship, script, mathematics. Also part of the

Liu I (or *liu-ching*), however, are *I-ching*, *Li-chi*, *Yüeh-ching*, *Shih-ching*, *Shu-ching*, and *Ch'un-ch'iu*. For more on the grouping of ceremony, poetic writings (literature), scholarship, arithmetic, the doctrine of yin and yang, and historical writings, as well as the division of the arts in Japanese culture, see Hammitzsch, 'Zum Begriff "Weg" im Rahmen der japanischen Künste', NOAG, vol. 82, 1957, p. 5, note 1.

49 Also Ushiwaka; the name which Yoshitsune bore in his youth (*yōmyō*, *osana-na*).

50 This episode appears in, among other sources, the *Heiji-monogatari*, see Introduction, p. 3 and note 17. See also Craig-McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, pp. 37f. Detailed information on the Tengu is given by M. W. de Visser, 'The Tengu', TASJ, vol. 36, no. 2, 1908, pp. 25–99. De Visser attributes mastery in handling the sword to the Tengu beginning with the thirteenth century (*Heiji-monogatari*, in this same Yoshitsune episode). During this period the Tengu were depicted as beings into which arrogant Buddhist priests were transformed as punishment (learned priests were actually transformed into greater Tengu and those with limited learning into lesser Tengu; de Visser, p. 53, see *Genpei-seisuiki*), they appear as Yamabushi and thus as masters of the sword, but at the same time retain all the bad characteristics of evil demons. Thus, the author's reference to Tengu traditions is not at all far removed from the Buddhist concept of swordsmanship.

51 For more on the sources for this event see Craig-McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, pp. 43f.

52 *Szu Tuan* (Jap. *shitan*), the four essential fundamental virtues of Confucianism. The division goes back to Mencius and includes *jen* (Jap. *jin**) – brotherly love, humanity; *i* (Jap. *gi*) – justice, integrity; *li* (Jap. *rei*) – correct behaviour, propriety; *chih* (Jap. *chi*) – wisdom, knowledge.

53 *Ta Hsüeh*, SPPY (*Szu-shu Chi-chu*), p. 1a; James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Hong Kong, 1960, vol. 1, p. 356.

54 *Chung Yung*, SPPY (*Szu-shu Chi-chu*), p. 1a; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 383.

55 This episode originates in Tzu Lu's biography in the *Shih-chi*; Tzu Lu, the valiant disciple of Confucius, died

* Kammer transcribes this as *nin* (see footnote, p. 19, (Tr.)).

in battle with the words: 'The nobleman does not remove his cap even in death.' He tried to rebutton the strap on his cap which his opponent had cut through. See *Shih-chi*, SPPY, ch. 67, p. 5a.

56 *Kufū suru*; for more on the meaning of the concept *kufū* see Oscar Benl and Horst Hammitzsch, *Japanische Geisteswelt*, Baden-Baden, 1956, pp. 155ff.

57 SPPY, *Lun Yü*, vol. VII, p. 8; SPPY (*Szu-shu Chi-chu*), ch. 4, p. 2ab; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 197. Translation by Richard Wilhelm, *Kungfutse, Gespräche*, Stuttgart/Hamburg, n.d., p. 83.

58 Jap. *Sangai*, Skrt. *trailokya* or *triloka*.
1. *yokkai* (Skrt. *kāmadhātu*); encompasses the six heavens of man and the infernal regions.
2. *shikikai* (Skrt. *rūpadhātu*); encompasses the world of forms.
3. *mushikikai* (Skrt. *arūpadhātu*); encompasses the world of the pure spirit.
See William Edward Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, London, 1937, p. 70.

59 The passage refers to *Lun Yü* XIX, 12; SPPY, ch. 19, p 3a; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 343.

60 A pond in the Saga district of the city of Kyōto, famous for its beautiful setting and a popular place for viewing the moon.

61 Ch'ao Fu, a recluse under the mythical emperor Yao. When he was offered the throne, he washed out his ears to cleanse them from the defilement of this temptation.

62 Hsu Yu, a recluse and friend of Ch'ao Fu. He was also offered the throne, and, like Ch'ao Fu, washed out his ears and then would not allow his oxen by the stream in which he had cleansed himself.

63 In Buddhism: joy, anger, anxiety, pleasure, hate, love, desire.

64 'The will is first and chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate to it. Therefore I say – Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature.' (Trans. Legge); SPPY, ch. III, p. 6a; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. II, p. 188.

65 SPPY, *Lun Yü*, vol. IX, ch. 4; SPPY, ch. 9, p. 1b; Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 217. There the concept is

explained as 'having no prejudiced opinion' (Legge, Wilhelm, and others).

66 SPPY, *Chuang-tzu*, ch. 30; SPPY, ch. 10, pp. 1a,ff; James Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, New York, 1959, pp. 626–31. It is the episode in which Chuang-tzu explains to King Wen of Chao the 'swords' of the son of heaven, the feudal lord, and the common man. Yet one also observes here the mystical association of the 'swords' of the heavenly son and the feudal lord with cosmic powers and the Confucian virtues.

67 SPPY, *Chuang-tzu*, vol. XIX, ch. 8; SPPY, ch. 7, p. 5b; Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, p. 451. The passage also appears in *Lieh-tzu*, vol. II, ch. 20; SPPY, ch. 2, p. 23b; Richard Wilhelm, *Liä Dsi, Das Wahre Buch vom Quellenden Urgrund*, Jena, 1921, p. 27. There the passage reads:

> Gi Siau Dsi prepared a fighting cock for King Suan of the house of Dschou. After ten days the king asked: 'Can the cock fight yet?' He said: 'Not yet, he is still conceited, proud, and angry.' After another ten days he asked again. He said: 'Not yet, he goes after every sound and shadow.' After another ten days he asked again. He said: 'Not yet, he still looks about him too much and is conceited about his power.' After another ten days he asked again. He said: 'Now he is ready. When the other cocks crow, he no longer takes notice of them.' The cock looked as though he were made of wood. His bearing was perfect. Other cocks did not dare to take him on, they turned tail and ran away.

68 For more detail on these individual spear forms, see Roald M. Knutsen, *Japanese Polearms*, London, 1963.

69 For the following see the chapter 'Hara als Übung' in: Karlfried Graf von Durkheim, *Hara, Die Erdmitte des Menschen*, Munich, 1956, pp. 137–69.

70 The Zen monk Shōzan (1578–1655) from the family of Suzuki in Mikawa participated in the battle of Sekigahara and later joined the holy order. For more on *zazen* see Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen, Geschichte und Gestalt*, Bern, 1959, pp. 162–5.

71 In order to divert all suspicion from his lord Yoshitsune, who had dressed as an escaped slave, Benkei, dressed as a wandering monk, struck Yoshitsune with a cane and thus to outer appearances became guilty of a breach of loyalty. For the sources of this event see Craig-McCullough, *Yoshitsune*, pp. 57ff.

72 The data are based on (*Dai Zōtei*) *Kokushi-daijiten*, Tokyo, 1927; *Kokushi-jiten*, Tokyo, 1942; SDHJ 1964.

73 *Ch'ien Han-shu*, *I-wen chih*, ESWS, vol. 1, p. 437a.

74 *Nihonshoki* (Sujin Tennō), KST, vol. 1a, p. 168.

75 *Ryō no Gige*, *Gunbō-ryō*, KST, vol. 22, p. 185.

76 *Kaifūsō*, NKBT, vol. 69, pp. 73f.

77 For more information regarding the (partially contradictory) dating here, see in detail the works mentioned above in note 72.

78 In the revised *Gakkō-taisōkyōjū-yōmoku* (Curriculum for Physical Education in Schools).

79 The four 'basic schools' are usually called: Shintō-, Chūjō-, Kage-, and Nen-ryū.

80 Katori-jingū in the city of Katori, county of Katori, of the Chiba Prefecture (Shimōsa). The deity worshipped there was the militant Iwainushi no Mikoto. For the significance of this shrine to the history of early swordsmanship, and also that of Kashima-jingū in the province Hitachi (prefecture Ibaraki), see NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 235ff., and Yamada, pp. 27ff.

81 Instruction by divinities, fabulous beings and mysterious monks is typical for the early schools of swordsmanship. Thus, Iizasa is also said to have been taught (indirectly) by a *kappa* (a mythical creature who lived in rivers, Tr.), although this was eventually overshadowed by subsequent Shintō instruction. See Yamada, p. 28.

82 For more on the Shintō-ryū see Yamada, pp. 27f; NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 235ff; for school manuscripts see NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 250–337.

83 Yamada, p. 62; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 240.

84 The *Bokuden Ikunshō* is included in the NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 314–27.

85 See Yamada, p. 66; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 326.

86 Yamada, p. 112; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 243.

87 See Yamada, pp. 29ff, 33. On the identity of Matsumoto Masanobu see Yamada, p. 29, and NBZ, vol. 2, p. 243.
88 Yamada, pp. 112 and 542, also gives Arima Tokisada as the founder and the era of Keichō (1596–1615) as the period of the school's founding.
89 Yamada, pp. 72ff; NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 244ff.
90 A comparison of the relevant sources (*Bugei-shōden*, *Sōunki*) is presented in the NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 244ff.
91 Yamada, p. 95f. Shinda Asakatsu is also named as the founder. If Negishi was the student of Morooka, then the founding date of the school (Tenshō, 1573–92; Yamada, p. 571) is questionable.
92 Yamada, pp. 25ff.
93 Yamada, pp. 562.
94 Yamada, p. 25. A detailed explanation of the Jion problem is also presented here.
95 Yamada, p. 27.
96 Yamada, pp. 78ff.
97 Yamada, p. 80.
98 See Yamada, pp. 80, 86; discussion see p. 86.
99 Compare SKHJ, vol. 7, p. 645.
100 Yamada does not elaborate on these two schools.
101 Yamada, pp. 106–11: NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 27–32. A detailed table of his students and successors is also given here.
102 Other places are also mentioned. Compare NBZ, vol. 2, p. 30.
103 Yamada, p. 542.
104 Yamada, pp. 189–93, 545; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 32.
105 Yamada, pp. 193–6, 542; NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 32f.
106 Yamada, p. 111; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 34.
107 Yamada, p. 197; NBZ, vol. 2, p. 35.
108 Yamada, pp. 197ff, 566.
109 Yamada, pp. 200–7, 564.
110 Yamada, pp. 286f; NBZ. vol. 2, pp. 41–4, tables.
111 Yamada, pp. 207f, 570; NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 35–40, tables.
112 Yamada, pp. 112f, 567.
113 Yamada, pp. 119, 548.
114 Yamada, pp. 38f.
115 According to Yamada, p. 546, in the era of Tenbun, 1532–55.
116 Yamada, pp. 39–52, 553, founded in the era of Eiroku, 1558–70.

117 Yamada, p. 39.
118 Yamada, p. 388.
119 Yamada, pp. 38, 389f.
120 Yamada, pp. 53–7; NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 36–41.
121 NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 51f, tables.
122 E.g. by Yamada, pp. 172–88, as well as Shōshi Munemitsu (SDHJ). NBZ does not make a distinction.
123 For more on Yagyū Munenori see NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 41, 44; on Takuan see Yamada, p. 173. School manuscripts of the Yagyū Shin-Kage-ryū appear in NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 31–179.
124 Takuan Sōhō is also the author of another manuscript on swordsmanship, the *Taiaki*. *Fudōchi* and *Taiaki* are included in *Bujutsu-sōsho*, p. 210 and p. 222. Partial translation of the *Fudōchi* in: Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, London, 1959.
125 Yamada, pp. 97f; NBZ, vol. 1, p. 198.
126 Yamada, pp. 101–5.
127 Yamada, pp. 98ff.
128 Yamada, p. 133.
129 NBZ, vol. 2, p. 480. On the possibility of such early instruction, see Introduction, p. 3.
130 School manuscripts and genealogical table in NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 485f, 518.
131 See Yamada, pp. 541–76, and above p. 80.
132 Yamada, p. 572.
133 NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 407–10. Yamada, pp. 113–32.
134 See Yamada, p. 114.
135 Miyamoto Musashi, *Gorin no sho*, Tokyo, 1963, NBZ, vol. 1, p. 466.
136 Ibid.
137 Yamada, p. 566.
138 A work in thirty-five articles on various aspects of swordsmanship and strategy. Date and origin uncertain. See also Kamiko Tadashi, Comm., NBZ, vol. 1, p. 410; Yamada, p. 131.
139 Yamada, pp. 143f.
140 Yamada, pp. 211–5, 566.
141 Yamada, pp. 288ff.
142 NBZ, vol. 1, pp. 239–47.
143 NBZ, vol. 2, p. 345. The strikes were made against a tree trunk of specific dimensions. Illustration in NBZ, vol. 2, p. 474.

144 NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 339–48. Yamada, p. 94 and 556. He names Setoguchi Bizen as the founder, gives manuscript variants, but otherwise says very little about this school. Tōgō and Setoguchi are related clans (NBZ, vol. 2, p. 349), perhaps the founders are identical. In other respects, however, many questions regarding the Jigen-ryū remain unanswered. For its most important traditional manuscripts, see NBZ, vol. 2, pp. 358–460.

145 Yamada, pp. 305f.

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